

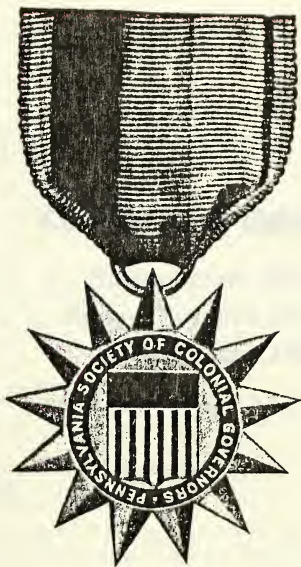
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Committee on Publication

EDWIN SWIFT BALCH
EDWIN JAQUETT SELLERS
ALFRED COXE PRIME

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Governor, 1666-1669.

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Walter Clarke, Governor of Rhode Island, 1676-1677,
1686, 1696-1698.

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Addresses

DELIVERED BEFORE THE
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William Markham,

DEPUTY GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1681-1682.

Read by FRANK WILLING LEACH.

June 5, 1916.

William Penn's colonization scheme in America was unquestionably suggested by his connection with the province of New Jersey, first, as arbitrator in the dispute between Edward Billinge and John Fenwick, and, later as one of the trustees named by Billinge to assume supervision of the colony.

Determining to have a commonwealth of his own, Penn made application to Charles II, in a petition dated June 14, 1680, for the territory now known as Pennsylvania, the same to be accepted in full satisfaction of a financial indebtedness of the King's, due Admiral Penn, the founder's father. Finally, March 4, 1681, a royal patent was issued for the vast province and thus Pennsylvania was born.

The great Quaker then began his colonization plans. He had much to do in England before he could make a personal voyage to America, but he at once made preparations to send advance agents to arrange preliminaries, and lay the basis of a government.

Whom should he select as his avant-coureur? The task was a difficult and a delicate one. A man of peculiar abilities was required, a diplomat, a statesman, and an all-round hustler, to employ an expressive term, though one with which Penn was scarcely familiar.

In this emergency he selected William Markham. This was a very high compliment to pay a man. There was no sentiment whatever in the selection. We can only conclude that Penn recognized Markham as endowed with the special qualifications which the important post demanded.

Of Markham's antecedents we know practically

nothing. Watson, in his annals, volume I, page 23, states that he "was but 21 years of age when he arrived." Where Watson obtained this information we do not know; probably from the same source whence he drew hundreds of his statements, which are none the less interesting because entirely apocryphal.

Scharf and Westcott's History of Philadelphia, volume I, page 166, says:

"This must be a mistake, as it would make him only forty-five when he died. At that time he was spoken of as the 'old gentleman,' and he had two grandchildren."

It is scarcely likely that Penn would confer so important a post upon a youth who had just attained his majority. One writer asserts that Markham was born about 1635.

In certain early papers Markham is called "Captain." Whence came this title we do not know. He may have held a military commission under the king. Indeed, it has been suggested that he had served under Cromwell.

Penn refers to Markham as "Cousin." That term, in early times, was a very broad one, being almost equivalent to that of "kinsman," any relationship, however, remote, being embraced in that general designation. It is quite probable, however, that Penn and Markham were first cousins.

Admiral Penn, in his will, mentions four "nephews," among them William Markham. From this we are reasonably safe in inferring that the latter's mother was a sister of the elder Penn, and a daughter of Giles Penn, like his son, an officer of the royal navy.

The seal which Markham employed in Pennsylvania embraced the arms of the Markham family of Nottinghamshire, impaled with those of Thomas of Dublin. It is fair to assume that he came of that stock.

Markham's commission from Penn bears date April 20, 1681, a little over six weeks after the king had issued his patent or grant to the latter, showing a considerable degree of haste in his plans to carry his colonization program into effect.

This commission conferred upon Markham large powers. In the first place, it constituted him the first Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania, under the Penn grant. Furthermore, it empowered him to create an executive council of nine members, of which he, Markham, was to be President. He was also authorized to secure a recognition of Penn's authority on the part of the people already within the territory in question; to settle boundaries between Penn and his neighbors, particularly Lord Baltimore; to survey, lay out, rent, or lease lands according to instructions; to create courts, commission sheriffs, justices of the peace, and other such inferior officers as might be necessary; to suppress disturbances or riots by the posse comitatus, and to make such ordinances and perform such acts as might be essential for the maintenance of the peace and security of the province. There was one limitation—he was not authorized to call a legislature for the purpose of passing any laws or performance of any other legislative acts.

Markham must have sailed from England immediately after the signing of his commission, and it is probable that his arrangements to embark had already been made in advance.

An ocean voyage in those days was rarely made in less than six weeks, and, now and then, a period of three months was required to cross the Atlantic. He sailed direct for Boston, where his commission was placed on record. Immediately thereafter he must have left for New York, where he arrived about June 15, as in a letter written from that city to Penn, dated June 25, 1681, we find this statement:

"This is to acquaint thee, that about ten daies since here arrived Francis Richardson with thy Deputy."

Here Markham presented his credentials, and, June 21, 1681, received from the Lieutenant Governor and Council a letter to the officials within the boundaries of Pennsylvania, previously under the jurisdiction of the Duke of York. That all of this should have been accomplished within two months from the date of his commission

seems remarkable, when we consider the obstacles in the way of travel and communication at that time.

Markham did not tarry in New York long, though exactly when he arrived at his destination we do not know. However, on August 3, 1681, we find him at Upland—the present-day Chester—the only settlement of any pretensions, at that time, within the scope of the present boundaries of Pennsylvania.

On that day he acted upon one of the most important matters confided to him in his commission—the appointment of a Council of nine citizens, to aid him in the government of the new province, until the arrival of the Proprietor himself.

These men, six Quakers and three other early settlers, were as follows: Robert Wade, Morgan Drewett, William Woodmanse, William Warner, Thomas Fairman, James Sandelands, William Clayton, Otto Ernest Koch, and Lasse Cock.

They entered upon their duties shortly thereafter, and remained in office until the arrival of William Penn, a little more than a year later, following which he named a new Council, presided over by himself.

Another important function which devolved upon Markham, under his commission from Penn, was the opening of negotiations with Lord Baltimore, with a view to the settlement of the boundary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland.

The two had a conference almost immediately after Markham's arrival, but the differences between the governments were not easily adjusted. Eventually, after the coming over of Penn, the latter found it necessary to send Markham back to England, with a view to a settlement of the controversy there. Penn himself, after living in Pennsylvania less than two years, was compelled to re-cross the seas because of this desperate diplomatic struggle. As a matter of fact, the disturbing question was not finally disposed of until the running of the Mason and Dixon line, in 1763-67, sixty years after Markham had been carried to his grave.

Probably the most notable of Markham's early achievements was in connection with the laying out of the city of Philadelphia.

A few months after dispatching his cousin to America to organize his new province, Penn sent over three commissioners to determine upon the site of and to map out a "great town" of 10,000 acres. Their commission was dated September 30, 1681. The men selected were William Crispin, John Bezar and Nathaniel Allen. Crispin died on the voyage; the other two arrived safely in Pennsylvania, as did, also, William Hague, who was subsequently appointed by Penn.

These men arrived in the fall of 1681, and reported to Markham. As soon as the weather permitted, which was not, probably, until the following spring, the commissioners, acting under the direction of Markham, proceeded with the task assigned them.

It seems perfectly clear that the site eventually selected lay in what is now Bucks County, above the present boundaries of Philadelphia, along the Delaware river. Soundings of the river were made at this point, and, subsequently, lower down. The lower reaches were found more satisfactory for a harbor, with a greater depth of water, and this advantage determined the selection of the site of the future city. It was William Markham, doubtless, who settled the question.

There is on record at the office of the Recorder of Deeds, Philadelphia, a release by Thomas Fairman, appended to an account for services rendered Markham and Penn's commissioners, at this period, which is highly illuminating, in more ways than one. It does not require a very vivid imagination to picture the sort of a life lived by these pioneers, who executed this by no means easy task, assigned them by the Proprietor of Pennsylvania.

Fairman was the best-known man who, in advance of Markham's advent, had taken up his abode within the territory now comprising the present city of Philadelphia. It was at his house that William Penn lodged,

when he made his first appearance in this particular section, after spending a few weeks at Chester. Fairman also entertained, at times, Markham and the Commissioners above-mentioned. His account for services and supplies is as follows:

"1682	L.	s.	d.
To taking the courses and soundings of the Channel of Delaware seven weeks with Captain Markham.....	10		
To Victuals and Drink put on Board the Shallop at sundry Times.....	3		
To my attendance as first commission conjunct with Wm. Hague, Nat. Allen, and John Beazor.....	00	00	00
To my Taking the Courses of Schuylkill etc., for sounding and Placing Philadelphia upon Delaware River etc.....	6		
To for my own Hands with Provisions and Drams.....	1	8	
To my attendance as one of the Governor's Counsel.....	00	00	00
To Lodging Captain Markham and Wm. Hague in my house with Diet and Liquor for Treates.....	7		
To finding the Horses and accompanying them in the woods often.....	5		
To my service as first Assemblyman....	00	00	00
To my officiating as Clerk to the Assembly and Clerk to the Council.....	6		
To my Time and Expense in treating with the Swansons for the 300 acres land.	5	0	0
To a survey thereof and the Rest of the Land unto Schuylkill.....	10		
To my many weary journeys to Upland to attend Capt. Markham on the Proprietaries Service and the Countries business.....	20		
To Lodging Capt. Holme his two sons and two Daughters with their and his			

other Friends accommodations in the
 Proprietaries service.....50
 To furnishing Capt. Markham and Capt.
 Holme with horses and Riding with
 them to plake Wickon etc..... 3

Several interesting deductions are to be made from these items. In the first place, in the work upon the water, they did not fail to stock their boat with both "Victuals and Drink," while, upon land, at Fairman's house, they seem to have indulged in "Liquor for Treates."

The life they led was undoubtedly a trying one, with plenty of inconveniences and hardships. Naturally, they extracted as much comfort as possible from such few luxuries as came conveniently to hand.

However, there is nothing in this to cause anything more than a passing remark, from one acquainted with sociological conditions then existing. William Penn himself, upon his arrival, proceeded to stock his cellar with wines, brandies and other liquid viands, such as would make us moderns turn green with envy, if not red with inebriety.

Another thought comes to us from a perusal of this account: Fairman served in both the Governor's Council and Assembly without asking any compensation for his services: thus differing somewhat from modern office-holders.

Fortunately there have been preserved two letters written by Markham, a few months subsequent to his arrival, which present a graphic picture of conditions as he found them in the New World; especially in the matter of articles of diet. They were of a sort to make one's mouth water. Writing from Upland, December 7, 1681, to his wife, he said:

"It is a very fine Country, if it were not so overgrown with Woods, and very Healthy. Here people live to be above 100 years of Age. Provisions of all sorts are indifferent plentiful: Venison especially. I have seen four Bucks bought for less than 5 s., the Indians killing

them only for their Skins, and if the Christians will not buy the Flesh, they let it hang and rot on a Tree. In the Winter, there is mighty plenty of Wild Fowl of all sorts; Partridges I am delighted with, we catch them by hundreds at a time. In the fall of the Leaf, or after Harvest, there are abundance of Wild Turkeys, which are mighty easie to be Shot; Duck, Mallard, Geese and Swans in abundance, wild; Fish are in great plenty. In short, if a Country Life be liked by any, it might be here. That which is most scarce is Mutton and Beef, because you must kill it yourself, I mean of your own; and in the Summer it will not keep till you can eat it all, except in great Families. When Beef is killed is in October, or thereabouts, and Salted up for the whole year; last October I kill'd two very fat Bullocks."

At the same time Markham wrote another letter to a friend in England, which went out by the same ship. He writes:

"I will now give you an Account of the Country; It is a mighty good Air, and very Healthy. Here are abundance of good Fruits: all sorts of apples, Cherries, Pears, good Plumbs; but I know not what to call them; Peaches as good as any in the world, some they feed their Hogs with, and some they distill and make of it a sort of Brandy; Abundance of Mulberrys. The Hogs eat the Chestnuts, as they do the Acorns; Abundance of Walnuts; Grapes grow wild in the Woods and indifferent good; they might be made very good wine. Mellons both Mus and Water as good as can be; and several others I cannot think of. Fish good store; but we are afraid to put out a Net, lest Sturgeon gets in and breaks it, for we have innumerable of them, that they leap into the Boats very often. Beasts we have of all kinds, and Tame Fowl. Abundance of Deer, the Indians kill only for their skins, and leave the Flesh in the Woods. We have very good Horses, and the Men ride madly on them; they make nothing of riding 80 Miles of a Day; and when they get to their journey's end, turn the Horses into the Field; they never Shoe them."

An additional important move was made by Deputy Governor Markham prior to the advent of his principal in Pennsylvania. Under date of July 15, 1682, he made the first purchase of land from the Indians, under the Proprietary government. The territory bought embraced about 45,000 acres of land lying on the west bank of the Delaware, and the north bank of the Neshaminy. This was in what is now Bucks County, and included the site of Pennsbury Manor, where Penn built his celebrated country-seat.

For this tract Markham gave 350 fathoms of wampum, and also 300 guilders (\$146.00) and numerous other articles, embracing 20 guns, 40 pounds of shot, 2 barrels of powder, 20 kettles, 40 axes, 40 hoes, 40 pairs of scissors, 40 combs, 10 small saws, 100 awls, 200 knives, 200 small glasses, 20 blankets, 40 shirts, 40 pairs of stockings, besides liquor, tobacco, and dry-goods. This deed was ratified by the Indians August 1, 1682, when 10 more guns were given.

It was at the close of the last-mentioned month, August 31, 1682, that William Penn set sail in the *Welcome*. He arrived at New Castle October 27, and at Upland October 29, when Markham's functions as Deputy Governor were terminated, Penn himself assuming the office and title of Governor.

Markham's activities, however, did not cease when he turned over to his chief plans of government. When Penn named his first Council, which held its initial meeting March 10, 1683, Markham was made a member. A few months later, however, he made the trip to England, previously referred to, to appear before the Lords in Council, in connection with the boundary dispute with Lord Baltimore.

It was this controversy which compelled Penn to return to his native country, August 12, 1684, else he might have continued a Pennsylvanian until his death. His arrival in England rendered unnecessary the further stay then of Markham, who thereupon made his second voyage to America. Upon reaching Philadelphia he as-

sumed, May 28, 1685, the Secretaryship of the Province and also the post of Secretary to the Proprietary.

Under date of January 15, 1685-86, he was commissioned Chief Ranger for Philadelphia County. In 1686, moreover, he was appointed a Commissioner to sell lands. He took his seat, February 9, 1687-88, as a member of the Provincial Council. He served as Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, etc., from January 10, 1688-89, to January 2, 1689-90, and from November 4, 1690, to May 5, 1693. In 1689 he was commissioned an Auditor of Accounts. In 1691 the three counties comprising the present state of Delaware were separated from Pennsylvania, and, in March of that year, Markham was commissioned as Deputy Governor, which office he continued to occupy until April 26, 1693.

On the date last-mentioned, Benjamin Fletcher, chief executive of New York, assumed the Governorship of Pennsylvania, under the Crown, Penn having been deprived of all control and jurisdiction. Markham was named by Fletcher as Lieutenant Governor, as of the date last-mentioned.

Penn's dominion having been restored to him, Fletcher's occupancy of the gubernatorial chair expired March 26, 1695, but Markham continued in office as Deputy Governor or Lieutenant Governor until December 21, 1699, upon which day William Penn arrived in Philadelphia upon his second and final visit to America, the duties of Governor being then assumed by the Proprietor in person.

During Governor Fletcher's incumbency, in 1693, he appointed Markham to the office of Surrogate, with the power of Vice Admiral: an Admiralty, and not a naval post.

The concluding years of Markham's official life were stormy ones. The Assembly which he convened in September, 1695, following the restoration of the Province to Penn, took the position that the old charter, granted by Penn, had become obsolete, and they proceeded to pass new fundamental laws of a democratic character.

Following this action, Markham dissolved the Assembly. A year later, in October, 1696, when the new Legislature convened, a new Constitution was adopted which placed large powers in the hands of the people, and stripped the Governor of much of his power, making him, indeed, little more than a presiding officer in the Council. This action was allowed to stand, and thenceforward Pennsylvania continued, in a large measure, a democracy. When the Assembly convened in May, 1697, Markham, in opening its deliberations, said:

"You are met not by virtue of any writ of mine, but of a law made by yourselves."

Concerning the final years of his incumbency, a writer has said:

"During his administration of the government he was accused by the Surveyor-General of customs of conniving at piracy, neglecting to enforce forfeitures of bonds, and adjourning the courts for the benefit of fraudulent debtors. Pirates and privateers took refuge in Delaware bay, and even made captures there and openly transacted their business in Philadelphia; but the Governor was powerless against them, having no efficient constabulary force in the city and being unable to obtain from Lord Bellomont a vessel of war to guard the harbor."

Markham was the earliest advocate in Pennsylvania of "preparedness," to employ a modern term, though by no means a modern idea.

The question of military defense first arose at a meeting of the Provincial Council, August 29, 1689, at the outbreak of the war between James II and William of Orange, when intelligence was brought of Indian depredations.

The Council was then full of pacifists. Even those like Markham, who had been soldiers themselves, did not, at that time, see how Pennsylvania could take any action. We have this from the minutes of the Provincial Council:

"Wm. Markham sayd: he apprehended That to

speake of danger from ye Indians would but skare ye women & children; and that our Constitution will not admitt us to defend ourselves. The only way is to forbear all thoughts or seeming fears of the knowledge of it; for that will represent us as people frighted, etc., unlesse we were under such a Constitution of Governmt as to take to armes, to be ready upon occasion if anything should come."

These were hardly the sentiments of a soldier, yet, reading between the lines, we discover an anxiety on Markham's part to take defensive measures, should the Constitution permit.

His plea for the Constitution is a familiar one to us moderns. Every reactionary in the land, who is opposed to progress in civic or sociologic conditions, falls back upon the Constitution, and decries any and all attempts to infringe upon that barnacled document.

Markham, however, was not the servile servant to the Constitution and to red tape that many of his colleagues were. Intelligence had recently been brought that William and Mary had ascended the throne. Indeed, a communication to that effect had been brought from Lord Shrewsbury, Secretary of State. A dispute arose in the Council over the question of proclaiming the new king. Many of the members were disposed to postpone action as they had received no specific orders to issue such a proclamation. The debate which ensued was quite verbose, yet very interesting. Here is a section of it, from the minutes of the Council, November 1, 1689:

"John Simcock Replyed. King James was by an Act of Parliamt voted the heir to his brother and so he came in. Now who ever comes in to put him out, Pray let us consider how he comes in: We have an act of Parliamt for the one, but not for the other. It may be dangerous for us to do it without an Order.

"Mr. Markham sayd. How the King came in We are not to dispute: There is nobody here to question How King William came to the Crowne. No man

doubts but that he hath it: The Govr himself does not question it. If so, why may it not be safe for us to yield all due obedience to him. We believe King William and Queen Mary are the King and Queen of England, and so of these Dominions; and since we believe it, where is the prejudice in obligeing of those who would have them declared to be so, as the Govr hath propounded. We suppose this Letter is come from the Secretary of State to King William.

"John Simcock Replyed: How do we know that?

"William Markham: The Letter says their majesties and it can mean no other. I believe it's meant for them.

"John Simcock says: We are not to Act by fayth in this matter, but with certaynty.

"Mr. Markham says: Since we believe it, where is the prejudice. The Govr proposed a methodicall way for Our declaring Our obedience to King William and Queen Mary, and that we are wayting for the forme and manner of proclayming them. To do this will give Satisfaction to all."

Finally a committee of three was appointed, with Markham as chairman, which drew up a paper setting forth the facts which was in effect a proclamation, and this was issued the following day.

Markham, having succeeded in overcoming the red tape objections of certain of his colleagues, in the matter of proclaiming William and Mary, now proceeded to express himself very forceably upon the subject of defenses, even going to the extent of ignoring the dearly-beloved Constitution.

Immediately after adopting the above-mentioned proclamation, November 2, 1689, a discussion arose in the Council over the question of military preparation for possible attacks on the part of the French and Indians. Almost without exception, the several members, nearly all of whom were Quakers, spoke against the proposition. Markham, however, used this vigorous, patriotic language, which is commended to the consid-

eration of certain Little Lord Fauntleroy statesmen in the present Congress:

"My opinion is That we ought to have our armes all well fixed and prepared in time of peace as warr, for we know not how soon warr may come upon us, especially in this country, where we have such sort of people amongst us. And whether it come or not, etc., I allways keep my owne armes prepared."

All honor to the old Cromwellian soldier for this patriotic declaration. He had his faults, and somewhat serious ones, but he was not a mollicoddle.

No action having been taken by the Council in the meanwhile, we find in the minutes of that body for April 2, 1690, this interesting "Petition of severall of the ffreemen of This Province willing and Ready to bear Armes in Defence of The same:"

"To the Honeble the Provinciaall Councill, now Depty Govern of ye Province of Pennsilvania.

"The Humble Petition of some of The Inhabitants willing and Ready to bear Armes ffor ye service and Deffence of This Governmt, Sheweth:

"That whereas, there is a warr between ye Crownes of England and ffrance, and that our Enemies, the french, have barbarously murdered many of his Maj'ts Subjects, very near ye Confines of this Province, Wch have struck no Small terrour in us and our ffamilyes, and may happen to Attack us when wee Least think of it, wee humbly pray that you, our Govern, will be pleased forthwth to settle ye Country in Such a posture, that we may be able by fforce of Armes, to Defend it against any assault of our Enemies; and as in Duty bound, shall pray.

"WM. MARKHAM

"LACY COCK

"SWAN SWANSON

"JON HOLME

"ANDREW BINKSON"

For over half a century after that period a desperate struggle was waged, though in vain, to induce the Quaker-

controlled Assembly to make provision for adequate defence.

A few years prior to Markham's death, a militia force was equipped, but not with public moneys. As about that time, Markham, who had been called "Captain," when he first came to America, began to be designated as "Colonel," it is altogether probable that he was placed in command of this military force. From a contemporary we learn that he was buried "very honorably, like a soldier," the only character, in early Pennsylvanian history, known to have received the honor of a military funeral.

When Penn resumed the governorship, upon his arrival in Philadelphia, in December, 1699, he did not continue Markham in office. The Proprietor complained of various transactions of his deputy, in their fiduciary relations, and this may have influenced the former in ignoring Markham at that time. Later, however, in 1703, after his return to England, Penn directed the Deputy Governor, Andrew Hamilton, to appoint Colonel Markham to the office of Register General of Wills, and he was commissioned, July 27, 1703. The legality of the appointment, however, was contested. A year later, June 12, 1704, Markham died.

We have several contemporaneous references to the decease of Pennsylvania's first Governor. James Logan, writing to Jonathan Dickinson, June 12, 1704, says:

"Poor, honest Col. Markham this morning ended a miserable life by a seasonable release in a fit of his old distemper, that seized his vitals."

This brief comment from Penn's agent and Secretary is very illuminative, yet, withal, not devoid of mystery.

He is called "poor," and such he evidently was, as he practically left his family destitute. Certain it is, in spite of his many years of office-holding, he had not acquired wealth either at the expense of his principal or of the public.

Notwithstanding any criticisms Penn may have indulged in concerning Markham's business methods, it

is quite evident that he was altogether "honest," as Logan's language indicates.

We are naturally curious as to the nature of his "old distemper," which finally brought his career to a close, but upon this point we have no precise knowledge. It is generally understood, however, that it was retrocedent gout which carried him off—possibly the result of too much "Liquor for Treates," such as is referred to in Thomas Fairman's account, previously mentioned.

Logan, in a lengthy letter to William Penn, July 14, 1704, says:

"I before advised of Col. Markham's decease on the 11th of last month; he died of one of his usual fits, and was buried very honorably, like a soldier, with the militia, etc.,...The old gentleman made a will, but has left his own daughter very little."

It is an interesting, though rather sad coincidence, that Penn, writing to Logan, July 22, 1704, just eight days after Logan's letter was written, and, of course, before Penn had learned of his cousin's decease, should have spoken thus kindly of Markham:

"Tell my cousin Markham I have his, and take it kindly from him. It is a good general and of sane particular views that is instructing. He has a good sense, and I see it does not leave him. I am sorry he is not in his place..."

"My cousin is very just to him [Deputy Governor Evans] in a discreet character, and so he is to thee also. Pray consult him sometimes, and tell Col. Evans I would have him do so too; and in honor to him I have offered him to be of the Council."

At this time, when Penn wrote of appointing Markham to the Council again, the latter had been dead nearly six weeks.

Samuel Preston, afterwards Mayor of Philadelphia, thus refers to the death of Markham, in a letter of June 12, 1704:

"This morning, about 2 of the clock; our near neighbor and old friend, Col. Markham, ended a sorrow-

ful life: a man, thou knowest, well respected, yet not to be lamented by his best friends. I was a spectator of his latter end: it was not with much hardship or struggle. To-morrow his body is to be buried."

The curious language employed by both Logan and Preston is to be noted. The former speaks of the close of "a miserable life by a seasonable release." Preston refers to Markham's "sorrowful life," and suggests that its close was "not to be lamented by his best friends." We can only conclude that the "old gentleman," as Logan denominates him, had outlived his usefulness, and was prone to some fault or faults, possibly a too great fondness for liquor, which were regretted by his most intimate friends.

Having been apprised of Markham's demise, the Proprietary thus writes, August 12, 1704, to Logan:

"I am sorry about the death of my cousin Markham ... I would have civilities shown the widow only for his sake, after all faults. Poor man! I hope he made none of the worst ends. I intended to have been further kind, notwithstanding his malicious enemies."

Not only did Markham leave his widow and daughter practically penniless, but his affairs were in a terribly tangled shape, his books and papers being in such a state as to make it practically impossible to determine the nature and extent of his liabilities and assets. These facts are set forth in a very interesting letter of September 13, 1705, written by James Logan to Markham's widow, Johannah Markham, which, however, will not be produced in this connection.

Logan, writing several years later, March 6, 1708-9, to Penn, says:

"Ann Brown, formerly Markham, as also her mother, the widow, press me exceedingly about her father's land. He is entered everywhere a purchaser of five thousand acres, but they have no deeds to show. The poor woman wants help for herself and three small children, and has now given me a letter to enclose to thee, I suppose, about it. I am as kind to her as I can

be, in compassion to her circumstances, but query whether the land in New Castle County is not to go in part."

Markham, upon his arrival in Pennsylvania, in 1681, had located in Upland, the present-day Chester. Following the arrival of William Penn, a year and a half later, he probably removed to the new city of Philadelphia, with the latter, in the spring of 1683.

Upon Penn's return to England, in 1684, he gave Markham permission to occupy his, Penn's, newly erected house in Laetitia street, now standing in West Fairmount Park. Here, in 1685, upon his own return from Great Britain, he took up his residence.

At a later period, Markham bought Jasper Yeates's house, on Front street, and here he resided until his death.

Though Penn's cousin-german, and the first governor of the Quaker Province, Markham was never identified in any sense with the Society of Friends. A writer says of him, in this regard:

"Markham appears to have been a churchman, and, although he never made himself obnoxious to the Quakers, was more in sympathy with the descendants of the earlier emigrants sent hither by Queen Christina of Sweden, the burgomaster of Amsterdam, or the Duke of York."

Upon this point we have a very striking letter written by Rev. Thomas Clayton, of the church of England, the first minister at Christ Church, dated "Philadelphia 9.29.98," or November 29, 1698, and sent, in all probability, to the "Society for the Promotion of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," London, whose representative in Pennsylvania Clayton was. Writing of the Presbyterian clergyman then in Philadelphia, Clayton says:

"I have often talked with the presbyterian minister, and find him such as I could wish. They tell me yt have heard him, yt he makes a great noise, but this did not amaze me considering ye bulk and emptyness of ye thing but he is so far from growing upon us that he threatens to go home in ye Spring."

The Church of England clergyman adds:

"This advantage he has got on me. Madam Markham and her Daughter because I can not be so servile as to stoop to their haughty humors, frequently leave my Church and countenance their meeting; which tho' it does not ym much good, yet shews neither good breeding, reason, nor religion. I am pretty patient under it, until I can see a fair opportunity to vent my resentments but yn they may be sure to have it in so plain a dress yt they shall know wt I mean, and why I doe it."

At this time, it should be understood, Colonel Markham was Deputy Governor of the Province. Naturally, it caused the Church of England clergyman to feel deep chagrin that the "first lady of the land" and her daughter should have attended the Presbyterian meeting-house. We can not help wondering if Brother Clayton ever found opportunity to upbraid Madam Markham for her unchristian conduct, and, if so, whether or not the act was performed in public. Judging from the character of the letter in question, we cannot doubt that the reverent gentleman was equal to the performance of such an act.

Governor Markham is said to have married "at least twice." The christian name of his widow, the "Madam Markham" of the Rev. Mr. Clayton, was Joanna, or Johanna. She was a widow when she married Colonel Markham, with one daughter, Elizabeth, who married, first, Edward Robinson, a Philadelphia merchant, and, secondly, Jacob Regnier, a London barrister-at-law, residing in New York. The widow Markham removed to New York City, where she died October 4, 1726.

Colonel Markham left, by a former wife, whose name is unknown to us, an only child, a daughter, Ann Markham, who married, during her father's lifetime, sometime between 1690 and 1698, James Brown, of Kent County, at one time a member of the Assembly.

Markham's son-in-law seems to have been a picturesque character, and, were we in possession of the details

of his career, we should doubtless find his life to have been as interesting and as full of incident as that of any character in fiction.

He is spoken of, in a letter written by Edward Randolph, the celebrated British Colonial Agent, as "a pirate married to Lt. Gov. Markham's daughter."

He appears to have been arrested twice for piracy. The first time he was apparently acquitted. In 1699, however, he was captured with some of the men of the notorious Avery, brought to Philadelphia, and, on the advice of the Council, sent to Boston, to appear before the Earl of Bellomont.

In a letter of May 25, 1700, the latter writes that he had been importuned to set Brown at liberty, but had refused to do so. Instead, with eight other culprits, he was sent to England, under charge of Admiral Benbow. Here a curtain is drawn upon his career, though a writer adds:

"It would seem that he met with a felon's death, as his wife a few years later is called a widow."

When Markham's son-in-law, Brown, was apprehended on the charge of piracy, the former was still filling the Deputy Governor's chair, this being just before William Penn's second arrival in Pennsylvania. The Proprietary found it incumbent upon him to write this very interesting, though somewhat enigmatic, letter to Markham, January 27, 1699-1700, a little over a month after his advent in Philadelphia.

"Cosin Markham,

"When I was with thee today thou offered to be bound for thy son-in-law should he bring thee into trouble; it is all the Portion I believe he has with thy daughter. What thou hast I may venture to say thou hast gott by this Governmt. I think it strange yr fore thou shouldst make a Difficulty in binding thy Executive with thyself for his appearance. Should another be bound, no man will take thy Bond for thy own Life, only for a counter security. Thou knowest it is Contrary to the form of all Obligations, and I cannot but

take it hard thou should be unwilling to venture so much for thy own Credit as well as that of the Governmt and for the Husband of thy only Child from those I am concerned with. I expect a more express answer than thou hast yet given and remain

“thy affectinate kinsman,

“W. P.”

This communication related, evidently, to the question of entering bail for Brown.

Mrs. Brown, née Markham, survived her piratical husband at least a third of a century, as she was living as late as 1734. She was the mother of three children, including two sons who died without issue, and a daughter, Joanna, who was living, a spinster, as late as 1774, in which year Richard Hockley, the agent of the Penns in Philadelphia, speaks of her as “Col. Markham’s granddaughter,” and writes:

“The old gentlewoman is still alive and hearty.”

The Penn family, in view of her grandfather’s devotion to the interests of the Founder, had, in 1767, granted her a pension.

With her decease passed away the last heir of Colonel Markham, so that, at no future time, will the Society of Colonial Governors be called upon to admit a descendant of a pirate to its distinguished circle.

Take him all in all, Markham seems to have been a strong, rugged character, who ably discharged the duties of the many posts of honor and responsibility confided to him. Few of his contemporaries exercised as large a measure of influence as he, in the work of nation-building. Such weakness as he did manifest, in the concluding years of his life, were merely faults of temperament, or the operations of the immutable laws of nature. A greater degree of appreciation and applause should be accorded to him, than has been the custom, among later day Pennsylvanians.

James Logan,

PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL AND ACTING GOVERNOR
OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1736-1738.

Read by ROBERT RESTALRIG LOGAN.

December 4, 1916.

James Logan as President of the Council was Acting Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania from August 5, 1736 until June 1st, 1738. He succeeded Governor Patrick Gordon, who had died while in office. Logan remained the Chief Executive of the Colony until Gordon's successor arrived in Philadelphia in the person of Col. George Thomas formerly an Antigua planter. Logan could have been Deputy Governor, but refused. He retained his seat in Council for several years afterwards.*

The name of government for Pennsylvania as a Proprietary Province had its origin in the first Charter of William Penn granted in 1681. This was extended to the Counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex on the Delaware. Under this Charter the upper house of the legislature was called the Provincial Council, and was composed of representatives chosen by the people. This original Charter was surrendered and a new Charter was granted in 1701 which made no provision for an Upper House, or a Cabinet.

Penn then commissioned ten persons as a Provincial Council, to advise the Lieutenant Governor whom he or his heirs should appoint and to carry out the laws in the absence of such an officer. The Provincial Council continued in succession until the Revolution and was a body of distinguished men. Logan continued a member from 1702 until 1747.

As we shall see later, the circumstance of Logan having

* Appleton's *Cyc. of Am. Biog.*, Vol. IV, p. 3; Martin's *Bench and Bar of Phila.*, p. 164; Scharf & Westcott's *Hist. of Phila.*, Vol. 1, pp. 178, 208; Jordan's *Colonial Fam. of Phila.*, Vol. 1, p. 23.

acted as Governor was only one of the many important events of his busy life. His fame would have endured entirely irrespective of the governorship. Long before, he had developed into one of the most distinguished men of the colony. His ability in representing the proprietary interests, his erudite capacity displayed while holding the many government offices; his great business capacity and remarkable scholarly and scientific attainments, all contributed to stamp Logan as a great man.

The wealth of material both contemporary and modern having reference to James Logan makes it somewhat of a task to portray in a few pages every important feature of his life, for, as Longfellow well expressed it, "a life that is worth while at all is worth writing minutely." And were it not for the careful researches of others the labor of the writer in this respect would have been very much increased. Among those to whom he is much indebted are Charles Penrose Keith, Esq., author of "Provincial Councillors," Charles H. Browning Esq., author of "Americans of Royal Descent," both of which works contain full pedigrees of Logan and his descendants, Albert Cook Myers, Esq., author of "Hannah Logan's Courtship," Dr. John W. Jordan, author of "Philadelphia Colonial Families," and those other authors whose works have been consulted and noted.

The best life of Logan is Wilson Armistead's "Memoirs of James Logan" published in London in 1851. Among the older records to be consulted are the voluminous "Penn-Logan Correspondence," Colonial Records, Penna. Archives, Proud's "History of Pennsylvania" and Watson's "Annals." The leading histories of Pennsylvania and Philadelphia, and American and English Biographical Works, all contain prominent references.

Sydney George Fisher, Esq., in his "Pennsylvania Colony and Commonwealth" gives a good description of Logan. He says (p. 132):

"For half a century he had lived in the province, and during the greater part of that time he had been a member of the Council and Secretary, and had served the pro-

prietors with untiring fidelity. His leisure time he had devoted to studies and the collection of a library at his country seat, Stenton. He made investigations in botany and other scientific subjects, assisted deserving young men like Franklin and Godfrey, wrote books and corresponded with leisured men in Europe. Linnaeus named a class of plants after him, and at the time of his death he was considered one of the most accomplished men in America."

Albert Cook Myers, Esq., concludes that "next to William Penn the Founder, Logan may be ranked as the most important personage of the Province." (See Hannah Logan's Courtship, p. 9.). Independent investigation will show that these general conclusions are fully borne out.

James Logan was born on October 20th, 1674, at Lurgan, County Armagh, Ireland, a town eighteen miles southwest of Belfast. He was of Scotch parentage. He died on his estate called "Stenton" near Germantown, now Philadelphia, 31st October 1751.*

He is generally conceded to have been a grandson of Sir Robert Logan of an ancient family of Restalrig in Scotland whose estates were confiscated for connection with the Gowrie conspiracy against King James VI.†

His father was Patrick Logan, a native of East Lothian, Scotland, who had been graduated with the degree of Master of Arts from the University of Edinburgh, and who became a clergyman of the established church of Scotland, and who had served as Chaplain to Lord Belhaven but later joined the Society of Friends. His mother was Isabella Hume of a gentle family of the south of Scotland descended from Lord Panmure. It appears that in 1671 Patrick Logan went over to Lurgan, Ireland, where he conducted a Latin school and where his son James, the future governor, learned Latin, Greek

* *Penn-Logan Correspondence*; *Mem. Hist. Soc. Penna.*, Vol. IX; Appleton's *Cyc. of Amer. Biog.*, Vol. IV, p. 3; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 81.

† Armistead, p. 7; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 81; Keith's *Prov. Councillors*, Logan.

and Hebrew. At the age of fourteen young Logan was apprenticed to the most important linen Draper in Dublin, but only served six months, when, in 1689, owing to the wars in Ireland, he had to return with his parents to Edinburgh. In 1693, we find him at the age of nineteen in charge of a Latin school in London. It is further recorded that he remained a teacher, at the same time continuing his studies in Greek and Hebrew, and learning French, Italian, and Spanish, until 1697, when he entered upon what promised to be a successful career in the shipping trade between Bristol and Dublin.*

About this time William Penn had located in Bristol. He asked Logan to become his Secretary and accompany him on his second voyage to Pennsylvania. The promise and prospects of material advancement in the new world induced Logan to accept the offer, which determination eventuated, not only to his own personal advantage, but to the material benefit of Penn and his colony.

William Penn, accompanied by his second wife Hannah Callowhill, and his Secretary James Logan, sailed from Cowes on September 9th, 1699 in the "Canterbury," arriving at Philadelphia December 3rd, 1699.†

An amusing anecdote of this voyage is referred to in Benjamin Franklin's Autobiography as having been related to Franklin by Logan. Logan's Quaker principles did not stand in the way of his belief in defensive war, while Penn, as is well known, was uncompromising and steadfast. Franklin proceeds:

"It was war time, and their ship was chased by an armed vessel, supposed to be an enemy. Their captain prepared for defense, but told William Penn and his company of Quakers that he did not expect their assistance, and they might retire into the cabin, which they did except James Logan, who chose to stay on deck, and was quartered to a gun. The supposed enemy proved

*For authorities covering Logan's youth see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 81; Armistead's *Mem. of James Logan*; Keith's *Prov. Counc.*

†Keith's *Prov. Councillors*, Title Logan, p. 6; "*Colonial Families of Phila.*," J. W. Jordan, p. 5.

a friend, so there was no fighting, but when the secretary sent down to communicate the intelligence, William Penn rebuk'd him severely for staying upon deck, and undertaking to assist in defending the vessel contrary to the principles of Friends. This reproof, being before all the company, piqu'd the secretary, who answered, '*I being thy servant, why did thee not order me to come down? But thee was willing enough that I should stay, and help to fight the ship when thee thought there was danger.*'"

After Logan's arrival at Philadelphia, he, with Mr. and Mrs. Penn and their daughter Letitia, lived for a short time at the home of Edward Shippen, after which they moved to the celebrated slate-roof house which was situated on the east side of Second Street, North of Walnut.*

The various commissions held by Logan in Pennsylvania with the dates and periods of holding office have been arranged from Martin's *Bench and Bar of Philadelphia*:

Logan's name appears as a Lawyer in the Province in 1700 (p. 236).

Secretary to Proprietary. Commissioned 27, 8 mo. 1701, (p. 173).

Clerk of Provincial Council and

Secretary of the Province, appointed 15, 7 mo. 1701, (p. 167) which office he held until May 20th, 1723.

Receiver General of the Land Office (Office abolished by Act of March 29th, 1809) Commissioned Oct. 29th, 1701, (p. 172) under which he was to collect rents, look after fines and perquisites, discharge debts, pay officers whose salary the Assembly had not yet provided, and remit balances.

Member of Provincial Council April 21st, 1702.

Commissioner of Property to make title to land several times between 1701 and 1728 (p. 172).

Deputy to Master of Rolls. July 11, 1702 and February 3, 1705, (p. 169 u. 4.)

* Keith's *Prov. Counc.*; Scharf and Wescott's *Hist. of Phila.*, Vol. III, p. 1786.

Justice of Court of Common Pleas, Quarter Sessions of the Peace, and Orphans Court. Commissioned June 4, 1715, (p. 45).

Justice of the Peace. Between 1715 and 1727 (p. 30).

Associate Justice of the City Court. October 1st, 1717, (p. 60).

Justice of the Orphans Court, Aug. 17th, 1719 (p. 67).

Master in Chancery under Sir William Keith's Court of Equity 1720 (p. 63).

Mayor of Philadelphia Oct. 2nd, 1722 (p. 94).

Presiding Justice of County Court of Quarter Sessions Sept. 2nd, 1722 (p. 40).

Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. Chief Justice James Logan was commissioned Aug. 20th, 1731 in the place of Isaac Norris who declined the office and died June 3rd 1735. He was Re-commissioned April 9th, 1733 and December 28th, 1733 (p. 16).

Dr. Jordan in his "Colonial Families of Philadelphia," p. 25, says:

"Logan had a general supervision of the vast business interests of Penn and h's family in America. He gained and held the confidence of the Founder, and that of his heirs and successors in the proprietary interests, and his recommendations as to the policy of the government, the selection of members of Council, and other high officials, even the Deputy or Lieutenant Governor of the Province, as well as in all matters pertaining to the proprietary interests, had great weight as abundantly evidenced in the correspondence with Penn and his family."

Keith throws some light upon a certain side of Logan's character which is not generally referred to. He says:

"Logan . . . was a young man with little experience in a counting-house, much less a government office. And as all men have their faults, there were certain characteristics of Logan which detracted from his ability as a ruler and the popularity of his cause. An aristocrat, he was strongly prejudiced against those who were not his personal friends. As faithful a servant as a family ever had he saw little besides the Penn interests. Besides,

his manner was haughty, his language very intemperate, judging from his letters, as well as the Assembly's complaints of his insolence; and his disposition uncompromising; while the financial embarrassment of his master, the dependence of the government upon the peoples' good will for its support, and the character of the settlers, who formed both a feudal tenantry and a free nation—Quaker converts drawn from the farming classes, with little money and thorough disdain of rank and dignity, and adventurers and Churchmen holding office under the Crown,—all this required that the steward be popular and his aim be to conciliate."

When Penn departed for England never to return he left Logan in charge of the Province saying in a letter referred to by Armistead, p. 12:

"I have left thee an uncommon trust with a singular dependence on thy justice and care . . . For thy own services I shall allow thee what is just and reasonable either by a commission or a salary. But my dependence is on thy care and honesty. Serve me faithfully, as thou expects a blessing from God or my favor, and I shall support thee to the utmost as thy true friend."

As it turned out Logan more than justified the confidence which his master had reposed in him.

Armistead (see Preface) sums up Logan's character and career very finely. He says:

"Of all the associates of William Penn in the administration of his colonial government, James Logan ever proved his most faithful and confidential friend. . .

"In no instance did William Penn manifest his own discernment and tact for business more than when, at great pains, he persuaded James Logan to accompany him to his new Province and take part in the administration; and a most pleasing trait in the character of the latter was his upright conduct in the absence of Penn from the Colony, and at all other times in defending him from the encroachments of those who ought, in justice and gratitude, to have been among the foremost to support him.

"His intellect was powerful, and his acquirements considerable, being well versed in ancient and modern learning, acquainted with the Oriental tongues, and master of the Greek, Latin, French, and Italian languages. He was deeply skilled in the mathematics, and in natural and moral philosophy, and was the author of several works in Latin and English. He was a great patron of learning, held an extensive correspondence with the literati of Europe, and, at his death, he bequeathed a library of 3000 volumes as a legacy to his countrymen, consisting of the best works in various languages, arts, and sciences; a splendid and durable monument of his munificence, and of his attachment to Pennsylvania...he was of sterling integrity, a worthy and consistent friend, preserving through life a character for strict piety and uprightness."

Considering the extent of the responsibilities placed upon his shoulders, Logan was not largely recompensed either by Penn or by Hannah Penn for the heirs. Penn only allowed him £100 a year and he only received from the heirs a part of the Springettsbury Manor. (Scharf & Westcott's Hist. of Phila. Vol. 1, p. 161, Note 1.) But as we shall see later Logan had the opportunity to acquire wealth without entirely relying upon the Penns.

Logan's father died in 1702 and his mother married again "out of meeting." She came to Pennsylvania in 1717 a widow, and lived with her son until her death on January 17th, 1722 (Jordan's Col. Fam. Phila. p. 5).

After several years residence in Philadelphia, Logan married Sarah Reed, sister to the wife of the elder Israel Pemberton. They had four children, and their descendants became connected by marriage with some of the most eminent families among Friends in Pennsylvania. (Armistead p. 13.)

Logan very early displayed tact in his dealings with the Indians. In October 1705 he visited them at Conestoga, and in subsequent embassies gained their esteem and confidence, and as a testimony of their regard the Chief Logan was named for him. (Appleton's Biog. Vol. IV.)

But in political matters Logan's path was by no means smooth. After Penn's departure he became much involved in a quarrel between Governor John Evans and the Assembly. Finally on February 26th, 1706-7, articles of impeachment were brought against him charging him among other things with inserting in the Governor's Commission some clauses contrary to the Royal Charter, and holding two incompatible offices that of Surveyor General and Clerk of the Council. Logan made answer to this in very strong terms, and as the Governor notified the Assembly that there was no warrant to try impeachments, the controversy continued for two years. The situation represented a conflict between David Lloyd, Speaker of the Assembly, and leader of the Anti-Proprietary party, and Logan representing the Proprietary interests. Evans in the meantime having been superseded by Colonel Charles Gookin as Lieutenant-Governor, the Assembly remonstrated against Logan's continuance in the Council, to which Logan replied in an exposure of Lloyd. On November 25, 1709, the Assembly ordered Peter Evans the Sheriff to arrest Logan which was prevented by the Governor's interference. Shortly afterwards Logan sailed for England and remained abroad for more than a year. His return to America did not long precede the paralytic stroke which robbed Penn of his mental vigor.

On August 14th, 1712, Penn, while writing a letter to Logan was stricken again. At this time arrangements were being perfected by him for the sale of Pennsylvania to the Crown for £12000, a sum large enough to release the pressure of his creditors. Penn's mind yielded to this last attack and up to the time of his death in 1718 he was no longer the same man, so that as E. P. Oberholtzer, Esq., says in his "History of Philadelphia," Vol. 1, p. 101: "More than ever did the cares and responsibilities of Pennsylvania devolve upon James Logan."

Logan was commissioned Commissioner of Property and Receiver General, and again took his seat in the Council. In a letter to Hannah Penn under date of

April 27, 1717, Logan recommended Sir Wm. Keith to succeed Gookin. (Jordan p. 26.) He was appointed the same year. Keith refers to this situation (p. 9):

"After the accession of George I, Gookin, quarrelling with the Quakers, charged Logan with being disaffected to his Majesty, but declined to state his grounds. Penn certainly felt a warm attachment to the Pretender's father, but Logan's sentiments seem to be expressed in a letter to Hannah Penn, urging that Gookin be removed and his place filled by Colonel Keith, who, he says, may labor under the suspicion of being a Jacobite, and so fail to be commissioned. 'But as these distinctions cannot affect us, who want nothing but Peace under the Crown of England, and have no power to advance or retard any Interest, all our views, or rather wishes, are to have a person over us who may truly pursue the Interest of the Country.' "

Keith in many respects made an excellent governor, and much important legislation to the benefit of the colony was enacted while he held office, but Logan's relations with him were by no means pleasant owing to Keith's cultivation of certain wealthy and influential members of the Anti-Proprietary party and the subordination of the Council to the Governors in administrative affairs. Finally Keith removed Logan from the office of Secretary of the Council charging him with an unauthorized entry upon his minutes.*

Logan's retirement from the Council took place in 1717. He then devoted his time to extensive mercantile pursuits and trade with the Indians.

He became Mayor of Philadelphia in 1722.

In 1728 Logan became a cripple for life, by a fall which broke his thigh bone. His energy remained, however, for many years afterward.†

As we have seen Logan was commissioned Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in 1731. It is stated that he filled that position with marked ability.

* See Scharf & Westcott's *Hist. of Phila.*, Vol. I, p. 181-195.

† *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 81.

In 1732 he was a member of the Colony in Schuylkill.*

In 1736 he became the Acting Governor. Although he was offered the Lieutenant-Governorship he refused it on account of the trouble he had had in connection with the border wars which involved the question of the boundary lines between Pennsylvania and Maryland, the English government having ordered him to keep hands off in that dispute until further instructions. (Scharf & Westcott's *Hist. of Phila.*, p. 1498.) This was in consequence of a petition to the King by the new Assembly which met after Logan's succession. During Logan's term of the governorship there was a great treaty made with the Chiefs of the Six Nations. At the Council held in Philadelphia there were one hundred Chiefs present. This was under the auspices of Logan who had previously entertained the Chiefs at Stenton for three days.†

We have seen that Logan was not very well paid for representing the proprietary interests. In consequence it became necessary for him to augment his income by other means, as a result of which he amassed a considerable fortune. This was mainly acquired by the purchase and sale of valuable tracts of land throughout the colony in which he was naturally aided by his position of Surveyor General. He was also a successful trader with the Indians who understood and respected him.‡

He is mentioned as one of the owners of the old Durham iron tract, one of the first iron mines to be opened in the colony.||

Logan has been described as a tall man, and very well built. He was graceful though with a grave demeanor. His complexion was florid even later in life. He had brown hair which never turned grey, but he wore a powdered wig.§

Perhaps Logan's most marked characteristic, espe-

* Scharf & Westcott's *Hist. of Phila.*, Vol. I, p. 233.

† Scharf & Westcott's *Hist. of Phila.*, Vol. I, p. 207.

‡ Scharf & Westcott's *Hist. of Phila.*, p. 161, n. 1.

§ Scharf & Westcott's *Hist. of Phila.*, Vol. III, p. 2249.

§ Scharf & Westcott's *Hist. of Phila.*, Vol. I, p. 161, note 1.

cially after he had retired from the cares of public life was his great love of books. Logan acquired an estate of five hundred acres near Germantown called Stenton upon which he erected a splendid house in 1727. It is still standing in a fine state of preservation. It was to this home that Logan retired in his later years, and where he made his wonderful collection of books which was considered the finest of any private library in Colonial America and which is generally referred to as the Loganian Library. After Logan's death it was presented to the City of Philadelphia.

A very good description of "Stenton" will be found in Messrs. Eberlein and Lippincott's "Colonial Homes of Phila."

In Watson's *Annals*, Vol. II, p. 479, Stenton is referred to as follows:

"The mansion was built in a very superior manner. At one time the fields were cultivated in tobacco. It was used for a short time by Gen. Howe and at one time was preserved from intended conflagration by the British by the adroit management of the housekeeper then in charge of it. Familiar as I have been with the history and manuscript remains of the household proprietor, the first James Logan, I approach the secluded shades of Stenton, in which he sought retirement from the cares and concerns of public life with such emotions as might inspire poetry, or soothe and enlarge the imagination. In truth I feel with Sir Richard Steele, that on such an occasion, I can draw a secret unenvied pleasure from a thousand incidents overlooked by other men."

In Scharf & Westcott's *History of Philadelphia*, Vol. I, page 161, note 1, is found a reference to an eloquent tribute to Logan made by one John Davis an English traveler who visited the Loganian Library in 1798, which is as follows:

"I contemplated with reverence the portrait of James Logan which graces the room, *magnum et venerabile nomen*. I could not repress my exclamations. As I am

only a stranger, said I, in this country, I affect no enthusiasm on beholding the statues of her generals and statesmen,—I have left a church filled with them on the shore of Albion that have a prior claim to such feeling. But I here behold the portrait of a man whom I consider so great a benefactor to literature, that he is scarcely less illustrious than its munificent patrons of Italy; his soul has certainly been admitted to the company of the congenial spirits of a Cosmo and Lorenzo of Medici. The Greek and Roman authors forgotten on their native banks of Ilyssus and Tiber, delight by the kindness of a Logan, the votaries of learning on those of the Delaware."

Logan retired from the governorship at the age of sixty-four. He was the last man to allow anything of a personal character to interfere with his public duties, but his advanced years combined with increasing infirmities necessitated his relinquishment of nearly all matters of a political nature. From henceforth he lived practically a secluded life upon his estate at Stenton, devoting himself to science, and literature. But even while an invalid Logan was ever ready to lend his assistance to the public cause if the occasion demanded, and we are informed that for many years after his retirement many important affairs of state were transacted at Stenton. Deputations of Indians often camped around his house seeking advice from their friend "hid in the bushes" as they termed it.*

Perhaps Logan's last participation in politics was when in 1740 he wrote a letter to the Yearly Meeting of Friends urging them in view of war between Great Britain and Spain not to procure the election of members of their Society to the Assembly, which letter was not allowed to be read.†

A life of Logan would be incomplete without some reference to his great learning.

J. Francis Fisher, Esq., in a note to Jared Spark's

* Scharf & Westcott's *Hist. of Phila.*, Vol. I, p. 161.

† Keith's *Prov. C.*, p. 12.

B. Franklin, Vol. VII, p. 26 refers generally to this as follows:

"His correspondence with the literary men of America and Europe from the year 1713 proves that there was scarcely a department of learning in which he was not interested. History, archeology, criticism, theology, ethics, natural philosophy, and law are treated of. . . . Among his correspondents in this country were Cadwalader Colden, Governor Burnet and Colonel Hunter, the accomplished friend of Swift, and in Europe, Collinson, Fothergill, Mead, Sir Hans Sloene, Flamstead, Jones the Mathematician, father of the celebrated Sir William James, Fabricus, Gornovius and Linnaeus."

Logan's contributions to philosophy, science and literature was considerable considered with reference to his activities in other directions. Natural phenomena, of which he was a close observer interested him to such an extent that he contributed papers to the Philosophical Society on Transactions on Lightning; and on the apparent increased magnitude of the sun and moon near the horizon; and prepared a paper entitled "*Experimenta et Meletemata circa Plantarum Generationem*," etc. (Keith p. 12). Godfrey's claim to the invention of the quadrant was ably defended by him and he was one of Benjamin Franklin's first protectors. In 1734 he communicated to the Royal Society an account of Thomas Godfrey's Improvement of Davis's Quadrant.

Writings of Logan's were published in Europe (See Scharf & Westcott's *Hist. of Phila.* Vol. II, p. 1498; Keith p. 13).

While Chief Justice of Pennsylvania he translated Cicero's *De Senectute*, which was printed in 1744 by Benjamin Franklin.

He rendered Cato's *Distichs* into English verse also printed at Philadelphia. He also left many manuscript translations from the Latin and Greek authors.

Logan was a first-named trustee in the deed of 1749 by which Whitfield's Meeting-house was given for an

academy which in time became the College of Philadelphia and afterwards the University of Pennsylvania.

It was in recognition of this early connection that Logan Hall erected by the University in recent years, was named for him. The Loganian Library, Logan Square, the suburb of Logan are all further evidence of the desire of Philadelphia to perpetuate his memory.

Logan died 31st October 1751 at Stenton, at the age of 77, and was buried at the Friends burial ground, Fourth and Arch Streets, Philadelphia.

He left a considerable estate as can be seen by an examination of his will on file at the City Hall, Philadelphia.

The Logan genealogy is fully set forth in "Provincial Councillors" by Charles Penrose Keith, Esq. James Logan had issue as follows: Sarah born 10, 9, 1715, who married Isaac Norris; James who died young; William the Councillor; Hannah who married John Smith; Rachael and Charles who both died young and another James who married Sarah Armitt. It was this James Logan who as surviving Trustee of the Loganian Library agreed with the Library Co. of Philadelphia for a union of both Libraries, and obtained an Act of the Assembly in 1792 for this purpose.

Jeremiah Clarke,

PRESIDENT AND REGENT OF RHODE ISLAND, 1648-1649.

By GEORGE DOUGLAS HAY.

Read April 12, 1917.

In May, 1648, Captain Jeremiah (Jeremy) Clarke, a resident of Newport, became the third Governor or President of Providence Plantations under the charter obtained from England in 1647. Under this patent the three townships of Providence on the mainland, and Portsmouth and Newport on the island of Rhode Island (formerly Aquidneck) had been incorporated. Out of these settlements grew the subsequent colony and present State of Rhode Island, so that Clarke as an original settler at Newport must be regarded as one of its founders.

It is rather difficult from the meager records extant to prepare a personal biography of our subject as distinguished from an historical narrative of the events which led up and were associated with Clarke's governorship. So that what follows is from necessity more in the nature of a political biography.*

When we contemplate the Newport of to-day with all its wealth, residential magnificence and social prestige, it is difficult to acquire a true perspective of the Newport when Clarke resided there as governor, which was only a few years after Aquidneck had been purchased from its savage inhabitants. But in spite of this contrast, the traditions of old Newport still remain, and the State of Rhode Island to-day stands as a monument to the foresight of the men who settled there nearly three hundred years ago. For we must not lose sight of the fact that it is from these small beginnings in American colo-

* Since the above address was written there has been printed "Ancestry of Jeremy Clarke of Rhode Island and Dungan Genealogy" compiled by Alfred Rudolph Justice, 1923.

nization that the United States has evolved into the great nation that it is. It follows that men like Clarke who were mainly instrumental in laying these foundations under the almost insurmountable difficulties which the records show confronted them, deserve more than a mere passing recognition.

The island of Rhode Island at the time it was first settled was called Aquidneck, but was officially changed to Rhode Island in 1644 (R. I. Col. Rec., Vol. I). Clarke came there as a member of that small company of Puritan free thinkers, the most distinguished and conspicuous of which was Roger Williams, who had left, or rather had been banished, from the Massachusetts Bay Colony on account of independent religious views. The purpose was to create a colony where freedom of intellectual thought could prevail. But, as we shall see later on, this very independence sought, often proved a hindrance when it became necessary to form a central government for the protection of all the settlements against the encroachments of the Massachusetts Bay Colony and the schemes of some of its leading sympathizers.

Rhode Island was very complex in its inception. It was the result of an ultimate confederation of several settlements on the shores of Narragansett Bay, comprising principally the townships of Providence, Portsmouth, Newport and Warwick. The oldest was Providence, on the mainland, where, in June, 1636, Roger Williams and several of his friends through the aid of the popular Sir Harry Vane, once governor of Massachusetts, obtained a formal grant of land from his friends, the Indian sachems Canonicus and Miantonomo (*English Colonies in America*, J. A. Doyle, Vol. 2, p. 181).

Here they were soon joined by many members of the Church of Salem (Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, 1st series, I, 276).

In 1638, the Antinomians, William Coddington, the famous Dr. John Clarke (no relation to our subject) and the historical Anne Hutchinson, founded a colony on the northeastern part of Aquidneck Island, which was first

called Pocasset, afterwards changed to Portsmouth. This land was also acquired from the Indians, the price being twenty-three cents and thirteen hoes (R. I. Records, Vol. I, p. 49).

Although but nineteen in number these first settlers on Aquidneck constituted themselves a body politic and elected Coddington as executive magistrate with the title of Chief Judge (R. I. Col. Records, I, 52).

In 1639, differences arising, Coddington with several others, seceded from Portsmouth and created a new settlement at the southern part of the island. It was called Newport, probably after Newport on the Isle of Wight (Richman, Vol. I, p. 130). Jeremiah Clarke came from Portsmouth to Newport with Coddington.

Richman (Vol. I, p. 126,) in referring to this movement concludes that inasmuch as these men were, with slight exception, men alike of property, experience and equipoise, it is reasonable to presume that their course was actuated by "the natural incompatibility at Pocasset between a growing radicalism and their own conservatism."

The other settlement on the mainland was Shawomet, afterwards named Warwick. This was situated about twelve miles distant from Providence. This was settled in 1643 by Samuel Gorton and others. (*Am. History*, A. B. Hart, Vol. 4, p. 230; R. I. Col. Records, Vol. I, p. 130.)

These towns were at first independent self-centred communities of persons who differed no less in governmental ideas than in religious faith. (Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies, Vol. XIV, 14th Series III, p. 55.)

In order to better understand the main purpose of the Rhode Island settlements and the character of the men which composed them, a quotation or two from some of the leading historians who have written of this period may at the outset prove valuable.

In referring to the work and purpose of the Rhode Island colony in contrast to New England, J. A. Doyle, M.A., in his work entitled "English Colonies in America," says, (Vol. 2, p. 179):

“Rhode Island was to (New) England what New England as a whole was to the mother country. In each case the emigrants were outcast children, whose work yet served the common end and redounded to the glory of the parent State. In another way the history of Rhode Island was a copy in miniature of the history of New England. In Rhode Island the process of union was reproduced on a small scale and in a primitive form. A group of petty communities found the necessary conditions for union in their common origin, in contiguity, and in the need for mutual support against the jealous hostility of the parent State. Rhode Island, indeed furnished a striking illustration of the capacity of the New England Puritans for organized civil life. The men who successfully founded the settlements which grew into Rhode Island were assuredly not men of special enlightenment. They had for the most part broken with Massachusetts, not so much because she was narrow and dogmatic, as because the narrowness and dogmatism of her divines was of a different pattern from their own. Yet out of this material was formed a vigorous and progressive commonwealth, whose political institutions were shaped in obedience to her actual wants and bore no trace of any fanciful theory or exclusive temper.”

George Bancroft in his *History of the United States* (Vol. I, p. 254), says:

“At a time when Germany was desolated by the implacable wars of religion; when even Holland could not pacify vengeful sects; when France was still to go through the fearful struggle with bigotry; when England was gasping under the despotism of intolerance; almost half a century before William Penn became an American proprietary; and while Descartes was constructing modern philosophy on the method of free reflection, Roger Williams asserted the great doctrine of intellectual liberty, and made it the corner stone of a political constitution; it became his glory to found a state upon that principle, and to stamp himself upon

its rising institutions so deep that the impress has remained to the present day and can never be erased without the total destruction of the work."

John Fiske in his "The Beginnings of New England" remarks (p. 189):

"It was a curious and noteworthy consequence of the circumstances under which the little State was founded, that for a long time it became the refuge of all the fanatical and turbulent people who could not submit to the strict and orderly governments of Connecticut or Massachusetts. There were not only sensible advocates of religious liberty but theocrats as well who saw flaws in the theocracy of other Puritans. The English world was then in a state of theological fermentation. People who fancied themselves favored with direct revelations from Heaven; people who thought it right to keep the seventh day of the week as a Sabbath, instead of the first day, people who cherished a special predilection for the Apocalypse and the Book of Daniel; people with queer views about property and government; people who advocated either too little marriage or too much marriage; all such eccentric characters as are apt to come to the surface in periods of religious excitement found in Rhode Island a favored spot where they could prophesy without let or hindrance. But the immediate practical result of so much discordance in opinion was the impossibility of founding a strong and well ordered government."

From these excerpts we can form some idea of the character of man that Clarke must have been while in Rhode Island. Little if anything is known of his family life and general avocations other than that he held offices both civil and military, as we shall see later.

The date and place of Jeremiah Clarke's birth are not definitely known. Nor would there appear to be any account of Clarke before leaving England. (Newport Hist. Mag., Vol. I, p. 75.) It is recorded, however, that he married in England and brought his wife and stepchildren to America with him. His wife was Frances

Dungan, widow of William Dungan and daughter of Lewis Latham, who was born in 1611, and who died in September, 1677. ("Clarke Families of Rhode Island," by George Austin Morrison, Jr., N. Y., 1902, p. 214; "Genealogical Dict. of R. I.," John Osborn Austin, Albany, 1887, p. 44.)

Frances Dungan's father was a London merchant, and she married Clarke, her third husband, in 1637. She had at the time of this marriage four children. She is referred to as being a remarkable woman. She was baptized at Kempston, Bedfordshire, England, February 15, 1609, (or 1611). She married (1) Lord Weston; (2) William Dungan circa 1627; (3) Jeremiah Clarke circa 1637; (4) Rev. William Vaughn circa 1655. (See Memorials of Reading, Latham &c. Families, by Josiah Granville Leach, L.L.B., p. 220.)

Mr. Leach makes reference to a memorial written in the 18th Century by James Barker, one of Frances Latham's descendants, which follows:

Memorials of Reading, Howell, Yerkes, Watts, Latham and Elkins Families, by Josiah Granville Leach, L.L.B., p. 220, Frances Latham.

"Frances, wife of William Vaughan, died September, 1677, in the 67th year of her age. She was a daughter of Lewis Latham. She was some time the wife of Lord Weston, then wife of William Dungan, by whom she had a son and three daughters. Her son, Thomas Dungan, married and settled in Pennsylvania, and was the first Baptist minister in those parts. Her daughter, Barbara, married James Barker, of Rhode Island. After William Dungan died she married Mr. Jeremiah Clarke and came over to New England with her children above named. She had by her husband, Clarke, five sons. After he died she married a Mr. Vaughan."

Mr. Leach further states that the identity of the particular Lord Weston is not known, and that he probably died shortly after their marriage.

It is not known to a certainty when and where Clarke first landed in America. The records of Massachusetts

and Plymouth do not show that he made any settlement in either of these places before coming to Rhode Island. (*Newport Hist. Mag.*, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 75.) But it is highly probable that he landed in Massachusetts and later followed Williams to Rhode Island.

The first reference to Clarke in the records is where he appears present at a general meeting held at Portsmouth on Aquidneck January 2, 1638. (R. I. Col. Rec. Vol. I, p. 63.)

Later, in 1638, his name will be found included in a list of persons admitted as inhabitants of this island. The reference is:

"In a Catalogue of such persons who by the General Consent of the Company were admitted to be Inhabitants of the Island, now called Aquidneck, having submitted themselves to the Government that is or shall be established according to the word of God therein." (R. I. Rec., Vol. I, pp. 90, 91.) (Then follows the list including the name of Jeremy Clarke.)

The significance of being admitted an inhabitant is that it was a fundamental rule passed by the body politic in town meeting that none should be received as inhabitants or Freemen to build or plant upon the island but such as should be received in by the consent of the Body. (Richman, Hist. R. I. Vol. I, p. 118.)

In 1639 Clarke joined Coddington and some of the other settlers in their secession to Newport. He was one of the nine which signed the compact at Portsmouth. This incident is referred to by Irving Berdine Richman, Esq., in his work, published in 1902, entitled "Rhode Island, its Making and its Meaning," (page 126), as follows:

"On April 28th, 1639, the entire Coddington Government consisting of the Judge himself, the three Elders, Nicholas Easton, John Coggeshall and William Brenton and the clerk, William Dyer, together with John Clarke, *Jeremy Clarke*, Thomas Hazard and Henry Ball, as lay supporters, withdrew from the fellowship of Pocasset and signed a compact to 'propagate a Plantation in the midst

of the Island or elsewhere, engaging to bear equal charges, answerable to [their] strength and estates in common' [their] determination[to be] by major voice of Judge and Elders, the Judge to have a double voice." (R. I. Col. Rec., Vol. I, p. 87.)

We learn that fifty-nine persons formed the new colony at the outset and that during the summer of 1639, these had been increased to over a hundred. (Ib., p. 91.)

Doyle in (Vol. II, p. 187), refers to the constitution of Newport as follows:

"The constitution of the new community was fully as simple as that which had existed before the separation. The Judge and Elders were to sit as a judicial court once a month where all public business was to be carried on at quarterly meetings, at which the judge was allowed two votes."

The population of the island at this time had increased to about two hundred persons (Richman, Vol. I, p. 130), making them sufficient in number to warrant certain civil and military officers to afford protection from without and to maintain order within. Jeremiah Clarke appears to have been prominent from the beginning, for the records show that from now on he held office in various civil and military capacities, until 1648, when he occupied that of his chief distinction. First he was Treasurer, in 1639. The record being as follows:

"At the Quarter Courte held ye 29 Janerire, 1639, 'It is ordered that Mr. Jeremie Clarke shall supply ye Treasurer's [Robert Jeoffrey's] place till his return from the Dutch.'" (R. I. Col. Rec., Vol. I, p. 98.)

Then on the 25th of 9th month, 1639, "he was chosen Constable for one whole year and is to attend that service according to the law in that case provided." (R. I. Col. Rec., Vol. I, p. 93.) He held the same office the following year (ibid 101).

It would appear that the Newport colony at this period was in rather a precarious condition as regards the food supply, aside from game and fish, and that during the winter of 1639-40 in order to avert a famine it

became necessary to enumerate its inhabitants as a basis for a division of the small store of corn, which meant 108 bushels among 96 persons. (Richman, p. 130.)

It was about March, 1640, that the Portsmouth and Newport settlements became formally united (R. I. Col. Rec., Vol. I, pp. 87, 100, 108) and became known as Aquidneck, or the towns on Aquidneck (Doc. Hist. of R. I., Chapin, p. 219). In this connection it appears that representatives from both ends of the island met at Newport and remodeled the constitution. The chief magistrate was to be styled Governor, and provision was made for a Deputy Governor and for four ordinary magistrates to be styled Assistants. The Governor and two assistants were to be chosen from one of the towns and the Deputy Governor and the other two Assistants from the other. As Richman (pp. 135-37) proceeds to tell us neither place "were in a fit condition to get on by themselves." The Theocrats of Newport "were too nearly all government," and the Hutchinson-Gorton contingent of Portsmouth "too nearly all opposition." And there was a common bond in the fact that the lands of the island was vested in a company or corporation, some of the members of which resided in both places. At this time there was a commission appointed to assign lands and record titles. (R. I. Col. Rec., Vol. I, pp. 100-102.) And there was an order made with reference to Newport that the lands should be laid out on the basis of four acres for each house lot, the opinion being that these lands would accommodate about fifty families. (Richman, Vol. I, p. 138).

There is evidence as to Clarke's land holdings at this time. On March 10, 1640, Jeremiah Clarke had land recorded to the extent of 116 acres. (R. I. Col. Rec., Vol. I, p. 99.) He is also referred to as being chosen with two others to lay out the remainder of lands at Newport, and as having attended a General Court of Election (R. I. Col. Rec., pp. 100, 102). His name appears in a Court Roll of Freeman as of 16th March, 1641 (R. I. Col. Rec., Vol. I, p. 110).

It was not long before the government declared its polity with reference to separation between church and state. These declarations were made at the second General Court for the Island held March 16th to 18th, 1640-41, at Portsmouth: First,

"It is ordered and unanimously agreed upon, that the Government, which this Bodie Political doth attend unto in this Island and the jurisdiction thereof, in favor of our Prince, is a Democracie or Popular Government; that is to say, It is in the Powre of the Body of Freemen, orderly assembled, or the major part of them, to make or constitute Just Lawes by which they will be regulated, and to depute from among themselves, such Ministers as shall see them faithfully executed between Man and Man." And, second,

"It is further ordered by the authority of this present Courte, that none be accounted a delinquent for Doctrine: Provided it be not directly repugnant to the Government or laws established." (Richman, Vol. I, p. 139; R. I. Col. Rec., Vol. I, pp. 112, 113).

Clarke was soon called to perform military duty. In 1642 he was made a "lieutenant of the Traine Band." (R. I. Col. Rec., Vol. I, p. 121.)

Doyle says in his work already quoted from (*Eng. Col. in America*, Vol. II, p. 187):

"One might have supposed that the position of the island and the departure of its savage inhabitants would have made the military discipline of the colony unimportant. Yet every male was compelled to drill, and no man was to be five miles from a town unarmed, or in that state to attend any public meeting. (R. I. Records, Vol. I, pp. 87, 90, 93, 94.)

It is very evident that this small community thoroughly believed in preparedness, and in this connection the laws which they passed in 1647 and 1649, are very interesting and worth quoting in full. It is referred to by Joseph Jencks Smith, Esq., in his *Civil and Military List of Rhode Island* (Preface IV), as follows:

1647:—"That there is free liberty granted to the Free

Inhabitants of the Province (if they will) to erect an Artillery Garden, and those that are desirous to advance the art Military, shall have freedom to exercise themselves therein, and to agree to their form, and choose their officers, and they shall agree among themselves. That all ye Inhabitants in each Towne shall choose their Military officers from among themselves on the first Tuesday after the 12th of March. And that eight several times in the years the Bands of each Plantation or Towne shall openlie in the field, be exercised and disciplined by their Commanders and officers, the months of May, August, January and February, excepted and on the 1st Monday of ye other Months to make their personal appearance armed, to attend the Colors by 8 o'clock in the Morning at the Second beat of the Drum."

1649:—"That should one be chosen Captain of the Train Band refuse the place, and accepting the place, neglect to train the Band upon the days appointed, he shall forfeit five pounds, and the Lieutenant, in like manner, fifty shillings."

One would imagine that there would be no facilities for education in such a primitive community, but such was not the case with early Newport. In this connection it is interesting to note that there was a school established at Newport as early as August 6th, 1640, when an act was passed admitting Mr. Robert Linthall (a clergyman) as a freeman to keep such an institution. (Richman, Vol. I, p. 138-41.) Richman thinks that this is evidence to put the Clarkes and other settlers of the island in a higher plane of caste and culture as compared with those of Providence where no school existed until 1663.

In 1644 Clarke was chosen Treasurer of Newport in place of Jeoffreys and was also elected to the military office of Captain. (R. I. Col. Rec., Vol. I, p. 127.) He was again chosen Treasurer of Newport for the three successive years of 1645, 1646, and 1647. (R. I. Col. Rec., Vol. I, pp. 127, 148, 209.)

It is necessary at this point to retrovert a few years.

As early as 1639 in order to counteract the aggressive policy of Massachusetts the inhabitants of Newport had resolved to obtain a charter for the Colony which they hoped to obtain from the King through the influence of Sir Henry Vane, who had returned from Rhode Island. (R. I. Col. Rec., Vol. I, p. 94.) But nothing was accomplished until the Spring of 1643, when the three townships of Providence, Portsmouth and Newport dispatched Roger Williams to England for this purpose. At this time Parliament had placed the administration of the colonies in the hands of a Board of Commissioners with the Earl of Warwick at their head. (Doyle, Vol. 2, p. 268; Hazard, Vol. I, p. 533.) The result of Williams' mission was successful, for in March, 1644, the Commissioners issued a grant incorporating these three townships under the title of Providence Plantation. (Colonial Papers, 1644, March 14.)

The charter contained no mention of religion or citizenship, though it gave the inhabitants full power "to rule themselves and such others as shall hereafter inhabit within any Part of the said Tract, by such form of Civil Government, as by voluntary consent of all, or the greater Parts of them, they shall find most suitable to their Estate and Condition." Williams returned to America in September, 1644, and it is recorded that he was met at Seekonk by fourteen canoes filled with people who escorted him across the water with shouts of triumph. (England in America, Tyler. Am. Hist. A Nation, Vol. 4, p. 236.) But it was some years before any practical benefit was to be derived from obtaining this patent.

As Doyle says (*Eng. Col. in America*, Vol. 2, p. 271):

"That conspicuous incapacity for civil union which had already shown itself in the Narragansett settlers still kept the various townships asunder. For nearly three years the charter of incorporation was a dead letter, save so far as it protected them from any external attack."

At last, in May, 1647, an assembly of freemen from the four townships of Portsmouth, Newport, Providence and

Warwick met at Portsmouth, and proceeded to make laws in the name of the whole body politic incorporated under the charter. The first president was John Coggeshall; and Roger Williams and William Coddington were two of the first assistants. (*England in America*, Tyler; *Am. Nation, a Hist.*, Hast., Vol. 4, p. 237; *R. I. Rec.*, Vol. I, pp. 147, 207.)

Doyle (Vol. 2, pp. 271 and 273), gives an interesting explanation of the constitution thus formed and of some of the laws thereunder enacted.

"The fundamental principles of the constitution were declared in the preliminary articles to the code of laws. It was to be democratical, 'that is held by the free and voluntary consent of all or the greater part of the free inhabitants.' The code drawn up was simple, based mainly on English statute law and containing scarcely a single reference to scriptural precedent. In two important points the code embodied the views which had made the founder of the colony and so many of its members exiles from Massachusetts. It declared that an oath should not be necessary in courts of law, but that a declaration should be sufficient, and it formally secured religious freedom by an enactment that 'all men may walk as their conscience persuades them.' To have been among the earliest upholders of religious freedom, a claim so often and so unscrupulously made on behalf of the founders of Massachusetts, a claim which they themselves would have repudiated with scorn and horror, is an honour which may with justice be given to the despised outcasts of Narragansett Bay.

The government took that form into which the constitution of our colonies seemed spontaneously to fall. There was to be a President, a body of Assistants, and a General Assembly of all the freemen. Coggeshall, of whom we hear little else, was elected the first President. The Assistants were to be chosen in a fashion somewhat unintelligibly described in the records. Each town was to present two men, and 'he which the vote by paper pitcheth upon was to be elected.' For the present there

was to be nothing which could really be called a representative system, though Commissioners, six from each town, were to be chosen for certain limited purposes. This body was entitled the General Court. The supreme judicial power was to be vested in the President and Assistants. The right of Portsmouth and Newport to hold local courts was confirmed, and there can be little doubt that the same right was enjoyed by Providence and Warwick.

The enactments of the Assembly throw light on more than one point in the social and economical condition of the colony. As is usual in the struggling life of a young settlement, public office was deemed a burden rather than a prize. The officials received a stipend, and those who refused to serve were mulcted in the amount which would have been paid to them. The same need for enforcing public duties is shown by the provision, that at the General Assembly of freemen forty should be required to form a quorum. That there were inequalities of wealth, and that the little community had begun faintly to feel the evils of older states, was shown by the enactment of a law for the relief of the poor. This is further illustrated by a peculiar provision in the law against burglary. If the criminal had been driven to the act by hunger it was only to be dealt with as larceny. The value which the settlers attached to their maritime commerce is shown by the institution of a special code applicable to seamen, based on that French custom known as the Laws of Oleron. The provisions for military training were very full. There were to be eight trainings a year, at each of which all males between sixteen and sixty were to attend properly armed and equipped. Even in the case of herdsmen and others whose business made it difficult to attend, exemption could only be obtained by a payment of two-and-sixpence a day. The legislature even went further, and met the chance of a lack of powder by ordering that every male under seventy should have a bow and arrows, that all children should be taught archery, and that for that

end there should be butts set up in each town. Sale of arms or ammunition to the Indians was prohibited under a fine of five pounds, to be doubled at the second offence."

This brings us down to the most important year of our narrative, 1648. During this year Jeremiah Clarke held the office of Treasurer for the four terms of the colony and had been made an assistant. He then became President Regent in this way:

Governor William Coddington had been elected Governor in May, 1648, under the patent of 1647. And it appears that there were certain charges pending against Coddington which prevented him from taking office till disproven. In this connection the following appears in the Rhode Island Colonial Records (Vol. I, pp. 210, 211):

"Among Acts and order made at General Court of Election held May 16, 1648,

"It is ordered, That whereas there are divers bills of complaint exhibited against Mr. Coddington, who was elected President. That if the said President elect shall be found Guilty, or being cleared of the said charges refuse the place, or if he refuse to give his engagement to the next Session of this Court, to be held for this Colony, that then ye Assistant of Newport, to wit, Mr. Jeremy Clarke, shall be invested in his place and shall take the authority of that place upon him.

"It is ordered, that inasmuch as the President elect hath not attended this Court for ye clearing of ye accusations charged upon him; Be it enacted and by the authority of this Court established, that the Assistant of that Towne wherein the President was chosen, Vidgit., Mr. Jeremy Clarke, shall supply ye place of the President with as full powre as if he had been elected and installed therein, until the said President elect shall be cleared and installed or a new President be elected and installed, any clause in any other act or acts in any other order formerly made notwithstanding."

We can only conjecture what the precise character of these charges were against Coddington, as they are not of record. It is supposed, however, that they grew

out of his expressed hostility to the Gortonian settlement, and his disapproval of the union with Providence and Warwick under the charter of 1643. At any rate, this is the view entertained by H. E. Turner, Esq., in his address delivered before the Rhode Island Historical Society in March, 1879. (*Newport Hist. Mag.*, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 75).

But the nature of the charges is immaterial for present purposes, the important point being that as a result of them Jeremiah Clarke became the Chief Magistrate.

That he took a hand in the affair is generally supposed if not confirmed. On this point Turner says:

"The active agency of Jeremiah Clarke in this affair is plainly shown by the significant fact that he was selected to fill the place thus made vacant, but it is confirmed by the following quotation from Roger Williams' letter to John Winthrop, Junior. (Winthrop Papers, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. 9, p. 278), viz.:

"Our poor colony is in civil dissension, their last meetings at which I have not been have fallen into factions, Mr. Coddington and Captain Partridge, the heads of one; Capt. Clarke and Mr. Easton the heads of the other faction. I reced. letters from both, inviting me, &c., but I resolve, if the Lord please, not to be engaged, unless with great hopes of peace-making; the peace-makers are the sons of God."

Turner suggests (*Newport Hist. Mag.*, Vol. I, p. 78), that affairs in England now approaching a crisis had some influence in the contentions, as a result of which Clarke became the governor. Coddington was a royalist whose object was to unite the island to Plymouth apart from the other towns, while Clarke and Easton were republicans and leaders of the dominant party in the island.

As no other President was in the meantime installed, Clarke retained the Presidency for the term (*Callender R. I. H. S. Collec.* IV, 268) *i. e.*, until the beginning of the next year, 1649, when a special General Assembly was called and held at Warwick, the records of which

are missing. We learn, however, that the President, Jeremy Clarke, was then yet on field duty and not present at the opening of the sessions. Williams was solicited to act in his place as moderator, but did not attend. (3 *Mass. Collec.* IX, pp. 282, 283; *Life of Saml. Gorton*, by A. Gorton, p. 86.)

On May 22nd, 1649, at a General Assembly and Court of Election, held at Warwick, Williams acted as moderator, and John Smith of Warwick was chosen President and Clarke retired. Clarke, it would seem, held no colonial office after 1649, when he served his last term as Treasurer. (Turner, p. 78.)

There is an hiatus with respect to the records of Newport and Portsmouth from May, 1649, to May, 1653, this being the result of the action of the General Assembly held at the March Session of 1656 in ordering their destruction. (Turner, p. 77, R. I. Col. Rec., Vol. I, p. 337.) These, of course, probably contained some further references to Jeremiah Clarke.

The history of the island up to and beyond the time of Clarke's death in 1651 is one of turmoil owing to Coddington's attempts to break up the colony by his endeavor to have it admitted to the New England Confederation which the Commissioners would not agree to unless the towns came in as part of Plymouth. This was not acceptable. (*Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 3rd Series IX, 23, 271.) But in April, 1651, the Council of State actually commissioned Coddington (who had meanwhile appealed to England) governor of the island. (Col. of State Papers, Col. 1574-1660, p. 354.) This angered the colonists so much that they sent Roger Williams and John Clarke to England to obtain a renewal of the patent of 1644, in which mission they were successful. (*Narragansett Club Publication*, VI, pp. 200, 228-236.)

We are not concerned with the history of Newport after this time, for Clarke died in January, 1652. A record of his death contained in the Friends' Record is as follows:

"Jeremiah Clarke, one of the first English Planters of Rhode Island, he died at Newport in said Island and was buried in the tomb that stands by the street by the water side in Newport upon — day of the 11 mo., 1651." (Austin's *Gen. Dict. R. I.*, p. 44.)

The fact has already been referred to that Jeremiah Clarke's widow had married a Mr. Vaughan. She was buried in Newport Cemetery, the stone bearing the following inscription:

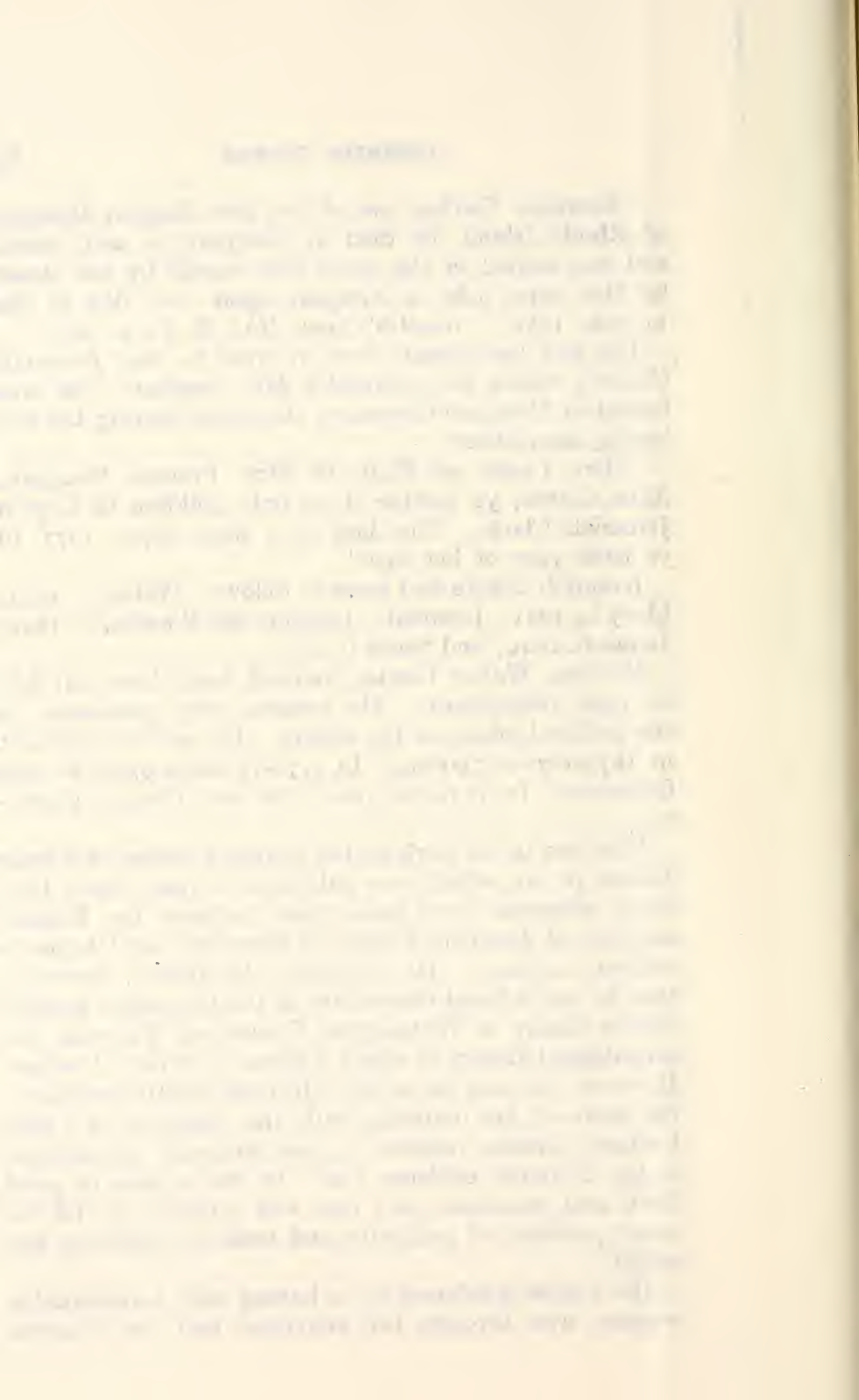
"Here Lyeth ye Body of Mrs. Frances Vaughan, Alias Clarke, ye mother if ye only children of Capt'n Jeremiah Clarke. She died ye 1 week Sept., 1677, in ye 67th year of her age."

Jeremiah Clarke had issue as follows: Walter b. 1637; Mary b. 1621; Jeremiah; Latham and Weston, b. 1648; James b. 1649; and Sarah b. 1651.

His son, Walter Clarke, married four times but left no male descendants. He became very prominent in the political affairs of the colony. He was an Assistant in 1673-1674-1675-1699. In 1776-77-86-96-97-98 he was Governor. In 1679-86-1700-14 he was Deputy Governor.

Morrison in his work on the Clarke Families of Rhode Island, p. 210, which was published in 1902, states that many attempts have been made to trace the English ancestry of Jeremiah Clarke, of Newport, but "hitherto without success." He advances the theory, however, that he was a lineal descendant of the important English Clarke family of Willoughby, County of Warwick, the genealogical history of which is given in Burke's Peerage. However this may be, as Mr. Morrison rightly concludes, the facts of his marriage with the daughter of Lewis Latham, already referred to, and his early prominence in the Colonies, evidence that "he was a man of good birth and education and one well qualified to fill the many positions of authority and trust to which he was called."

His widow is referred to as having been a remarkable woman, who through her marriages and the alliances



of her children, her family wielded for more than a century a powerful influence in the public and social life of Rhode Island. (*Colonial Families of Philadelphia*, by John W. Jordan, LL.D., Vol. 2, p. 1495.) Mr. Jordan informs us that her father, Lewis Latham, of Elstow County, Bedfordshire, was of a cadet branch of the Lathams of Latham House, County Lancaster, whose arms he bore. In 1627 his proficiency in the art of falconry brought him the appointment as Sergeant Falconer to King Charles I. His death is recorded in the Elstow Parish Register thus:

"Lewis Latham, gent, buried ye 15th May, 1655."

For a full account of the descendants of Jeremiah Clarke see in addition to Mr. Morrison's work already referred to, *Genealogical Dict. of R. I.* by John Osborn Austin, Esq., p. 44.

Thomas Dudley,

GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY,
1634, 1640, 1645, 1650.

Read by JOSEPH BROWN GODWIN.

June 4, 1917.

Thomas Dudley, the second Governor of the English colony of Massachusetts Bay, under the royal charter, was first chosen for that office at a General Court of Election held at Boston, in New England, on May 14th, 1634. (Mass. Col. Rec. I, 117.)

Coming to New England with the great emigration of 1630, Dudley was one of the first persons of prominence to plant the seeds of Puritanism in America. These early settlements along the shores of Massachusetts Bay were necessarily of a primitive character, but they are most important in that they formed the beginnings of successful civilization in the New World, and, so regarded they were epoch making. Doyle says, in referring to the emigration of 1630, "it was unquestionably the greatest effort of colonization which Englishmen had yet made." (*England in America*, 135.)

The famous Governor, John Winthrop, the first executive of the colony, was leader of the enterprise, while Dudley himself as deputy governor, took no small part. Although at this time fifty-four years of age he was possessed of great vigor, both mentally and physically, which naturally well equipped him for the active and arduous part he was to play in the building up of what eventually became a great State. This activity embraced almost continuous administrative service until his death, twenty-three years afterwards. Thomas Dudley's association with this movement was not the result of any sudden inspiration. For many years before leaving England he had been associated with other prominent non-conformists, including the Rev. John White, of Dor-

chester, whose help was mainly instrumental in paving the way for ultimate success. (*Am. Hist.*, A. B. Hart, Vol. 4, 183.) Their main purpose was to plant a colony in America free from the growing interference of both church and state. (Doyle, *England in America*, Vol. 2, 115.)

Governor Thomas Dudley was born in 1576 near Northampton, the capital of Northampton, a south-midland county of England. (J. B. Moore's *Memoirs of Am. Governors*, 273.) There had been up to recent years no absolute proof of that fact, but investigations made by Miss Mary Kingsbury Talcott, of Hartford, Connecticut, bring positive confirmation. In the Parish Register of Yardley Hastings, a village about eight miles from Northampton, appears the record of the baptism of a Thomas Dudley as of October 12, 1576, which it is concluded refers to Governor Thomas Dudley—if the statement of his age made at the time of his death is correct. (See *N. E. Hist. & Gen. Reg.*, Vol. 66 (1912), p. 340.)

Thomas Dudley was the only son of Captain Roger Dudley, who, it has been stated, was killed in the Battle of Ivry. (But see 56 *N. E. Hist. & Gen. Reg.*, p. 206.) This was in 1590 when Henry IV of France was victorious over Mayenne. (Dean Dudley's *Hist. of Dudley Family*, 1, 24; Augustine Jones' *Life of Thos. Dudley*, p. 3.) Mr. Jones' admirable work was published in 1899, to which the writer is indebted for much information. He says on this point (p. 3): "We have not at present a satisfactory knowledge of the ancestry of Governor Dudley beyond his father, Roger Dudley." (See also *N. E. Hist. & Gen. Reg.*, Vol. 66, p. 340.) And the interesting question heretofore presented to Dudley's biographers has been whether Thomas Dudley was a descendant of John Dudley, the famous Duke of Northumberland. Mr. Jones, who probably has given the matter more investigation than anybody else, comes to the conclusion that our subject was not in the direct line from the Duke but that they had a common ancestor.

He quotes from and concurs with George Adlard, the author of "The Sutton-Dudleys of England and the Dudleys of Massachusetts" who says that

"from the investigation I have made in relation to this family, I arrive at the conclusion that though Governor Dudley was not descended in the direct line from John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, yet that both were descended from the same ancestry. Both use the same coat of arms;"

from which Mr. Jones concludes that

"this seems to be the most reasonable result yet attained." (*Life of Thos. Dudley*, p. 3.)

Dean Dudley says:

"Captain Roger Dudley flourished in the time of Robert Dudley, Queen Elizabeth's famous Earl of Leicester, and appears to have been one of the soldiers sent over by the queen to aid Henry of Navarre to establish his throne...The Dudleys of Dudley Castle race were ever inclined to a military life. Captain Roger doubtless belonged to this branch of his family." (*Hist. of Dudley Fam.*, 1, p. 17.)

Mr. Augustine Jones also quotes from Jacob Bailey Moore (*Memoirs of Am. Governors*, p. 273) to the effect that "there is a tradition among the descendants of Governor Thomas Dudley, in the eldest branch of the family, that he was descended from John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, who was beheaded 22 February, 1553;" and Adlard (*Sutton-Dudleys of Eng.*, 47), states that "this tradition was not confined to the Rev. Samuel Dudley, the eldest branch, but has been perpetuated among the descendants of Governor Joseph Dudley." The latter was the able and distinguished son of Thomas Dudley.

Mr. Jones gives further evidence of his belief that Thomas Dudley came from this family. He refers to Anne Bradstreet, Dudley's eldest daughter, who "wrote the first volume of poems published in New England." See Duyckinck's *Cyc. of Amer. Lit.*, 1, 52.) It appears that in her father's lifetime she had written an

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elegy upon Sir Philip Sidney (whose mother was the Lady Mary, eldest daughter of the aforementioned Duke of Northumberland of the house of Dudley) which contains the following couplet:

"Let, then, none disallow of these my strains,
Which have the self-same blood yet in my veins."

Mr. Jones concludes that as this was written in 1641 when Anne Bradstreet through her father had complete information of her ancestry, she wrote it with the knowledge that "she had the self-same blood in her veins as Sir Philip Sidney." Mr. Jones (*Life of Thos. Dudley*, p. 5), also points out as significant the coats of arms both of Governor Thomas Dudley, placed in his last will by himself, and of Governor Joseph Dudley. They were "a lion rampant, with a crescent for difference," which, it is asserted, belonged to only two branches of the Dudley family, both descended from the first Baron Dudley who died in 1488."

In refutation of any idea that Dudley had no right to these coats of arms, Mr. Jones aptly says:

"Massachusetts was then English territory, and the laws of that country regulated and restricted the use of heraldic arms. They were then the distinguishing mark between noble families, and no high-minded person like Governor Dudley, would assume the arms of another family, and no dishonest man would dare do it."

Regarding the maternal ancestry of Thomas Dudley, nothing was definitely known until a few years ago. (Jones' *Life of Dudley*, Sec. 10.) But the same Miss Talcott hereinbefore mentioned discovered that she must have been one Susanna Purefoy Thorne, who was baptized at Yardley Hastings 5 March, 1559-60. She is mentioned in the will of Thomas Dorne or Thorne of Yardley Hastings dated 29th Oct., 1588, as "Susan Dudley, dau. and widow; the conclusion from this being that Thomas Dudley was descended from the Purefoys through his mother, Susanna Thorne, who was a daughter of Mary Purefoy Thorne. (*N. E. Hist. & Gen. Reg.*, Vol. 66 (1912), 340.)

Cotton Mather informs us that being left an orphan, Dudley was looked after by one Mrs. Purefoy and "by her care he was trained up in some Latin school wherein he learned the rudiments of grammar, the which he improved afterwards by his own industry to considerable advantage, so as he was able even in his age to understand any Latin author as well as the best clerk in the country that had been continually kept to study." (*Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 1870, 208.)

Mather also states that after Thomas Dudley "had passed his childhood he was by them that stood his best friends preferred to be a page to the Earl of Northampton, under whom he had opportunity to learn courtship and whatever belonged to civility and good behaviour; with that earl he tarried till he was ripe for other services." (*Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 1870, 208.)

He probably continued in this occupation for about six years until his majority. (Jones, p. 12.)

This Earl of Northampton was William Compton, who, in 1589, succeeded his father as Baron Compton of Compton. He built the house "Compton-Winyates" near the village of Brailes in Warwickshire. There was another home of the Comptons, "Castle Ashby," eight miles southeast of Northampton. (Jones' *Life of Thos. Dudley*, p. 13.) As page to Lord Compton, Thomas Dudley no doubt lived at both places. Mr. Jones, who visited there, refers to Compton Winyates as standing "beautiful in ruins."

In 1597 Dudley had arrived at his majority. It was about this time that Queen Elizabeth called for soldiers to fight the armies of Philip of Spain. These troops were to be commanded by the gallant Henry of Navarre. Dudley lost no time in responding to the call, and through the influence of friends obtained a commission from the queen as captain. He was in such good repute with the young men of Northampton that they at once enlisted in his command. Mather says as to this:

"The young lads about Northampton were none of them willing to enter the service till a commission was

sent down to this gallant to be their captain and then presently there were fourscore that were willing to list themselves under him as their captain. With these he was sent over into France, which, being at that time an Academy of Arms as well as of Arts, he had opportunity to furnish himself with such military skill as fitted him to command in the field as well as on the bench. The service that he was put upon in France was to help Amiens, before which city King Henry IV at that time lay."

The outcome of this expedition was that Amiens was retaken without bloodshed by King Henry, Dudley and his company taking part in the siege, which ended in its capitulation after six months, on September 25, 1597. (Jones' *Life of Thos. Dudley*, p. 22.)

The political conditions of the time are clearly stated by Lord Macauley as follows:

"During the greater part of Elizabeth's reign, therefore, the Puritans in the House of Commons, though sometimes mutinous felt no disposition to array themselves in systematic opposition to the government. But, when the defeat of the Armada, the successful resistance of the United Provinces to the Spanish power, the firm establishment of Henry the Fourth on the throne of France, and the death of Phillip the Second, had secured the state and the church against all danger from abroad, an obstinate struggle, destined to last during several generations, instantly began at home." (Macauley's *Hist. Eng.* 1-47.)

Peace having been concluded we are informed that Dudley returned to England and received his discharge, (Jones' *Life of Thos. Dudley*, p. 24.)

The next important event recorded was his marriage to Miss Dorothy Yorke, the daughter of Edmond Yorke of Cotton End, County Northampton, on 25th Apl., 1603, at Hardingstone, near Northampton. (Vol. 56, *N. E. Gen. & Hist. Reg.*, p. 206, Jones, p. 24.)

Cotton Mather in referring to this interesting event says that

"After Captain Dudley returned into England, he settled again about Northampton, and there meeting with a gentlewoman both of good estate and good extraction, he entered into marriage with her, and then took up his habitation for some time in that part of the country." (*Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 1870, 209.)

We now enter upon the most important period of Dudley's early career, which was after he became clerk to Judge Augustine Nicolls. Mather states that Dudley "was taken by Judge Nicolls to be his clerk, who, being his kinsman also, by the mother's side, took more special notice of him; and from him being a prompt young man, he learned much skill in the law, and attained to such abilities as rendered him capable of performing a secretary's place, for he was known to have a very good pen, to draw up any writing in succinct and apt expressions, which so far commended him to the favor of the judge, that he would never have dismissed him from his service, but have preferred him to some more eminent and profitable employment under him, but that he was prevented by death." (*Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 1870, 208; *Sutton-Dudleys*, 25.)

It is possible that Dudley associated himself with Judge Nicolls before he went to war in France, but Mr. Jones points out the impracticability of this from the fact that Dudley was with Judge Nicolls at the time of his death in 1616, eighteen years afterwards. (Jones' *Life of Thos. Dudley*, p. 25.)

Judge Nicolls had been elevated to be judge of the Common Pleas in 1612. He was, as Mr. Jones informs us, "most able and of exemplary integrity; and Dudley's association with him goes far in aiding us to determine the powers and qualities of Dudley." (*Life of Thos. Dudley*, Sect. 26.)

Dudley had now (1616) reached the age of forty years, at which time he became steward of Theophilus Clinton, the fourth Earl of Lincoln, who resided at or near Sempingham, in Lincolnshire. It is apparent that his service and experience with Judge Nicolls well fitted him for

the position. Again we refer to Mather who explains how Dudley made this connection. He says:

"Mr. Dudley began to be well known in those places where his abode was, and by being a follower of Mr. Dod, he came into the knowledge of the Lord Say and Lord Compton, and other persons of quality, by whose means he was afterwards commended to the service of the Earl of Lincoln, who was then a young man and newly come into the possession of the earldom with the lands and hereditaments that belonged thereto." (*Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 211.)

Mr. Jones states (p. 31) that during the next year, 1626, this earl was one of the six earls who resisted the forced loan demanded by Charles I cit. (*Diary of Walter Yonge*, 98.)

Dean Dudley says in this connection:

"But the Earl of Lincoln's opposition to the loan was most conspicuous. According to his wont he quickly took action in the matter, and probably by the aid of his former steward and counselor, Mr. Thomas Dudley, prepared and published an abridgement of the English statutes for free distribution. The fact of Dudley's having a hand in this proceeding, if not, indeed being the chief adviser of it, is sufficiently evident from many circumstances, says the historians... The King was not unacquainted with this proceeding of the earl, who had distributed his book all over his county at least, if not over the whole realm; and the royal power was rigorously used to suppress the abridgement, the great object of the King's resentment. Theophilus was proceeded against in the Star Chamber and was soon made a close prisoner in the Tower where he was kept in custody for some years." (*History of Dudley Family*, 1, 57, 58.)

A brief statement of Dudley's difficulties as steward to the Earl has been made by Mather. He says:

"The grandfather of this present earl was called Henry, who, being a bad husband" that is to say, a feeble economist, "had left his heirs under great entanglements,

and his son, named Thomas, had never been able to wind out of the labyrinth of debts contracted by his father, so that all the difficulties were now devolved upon Theophilus, the grandchild, who was persuaded therefore to entertain Dudley as his steward to manage his whole estate, who, although it were so involved with many great debts, amounting to near twenty thousand pounds, yet by his prudent, careful and faithful management of the demesnes of that family, he in a few years found means to discharge all those great debts wherein the young earl was so engulfed that he saw little hope of ever wading through them all. But with God's blessing on Mr. Dudley's pains and industry, he was soon freed of them." (*Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 1870, 212.)

Mather continues:

"The earl, finding him so to be, would never, after his acquaintance with him do any business of moment without Mr. Dudley's counsel of advice."

Mr. Jones in referring to Dudley's success in freeing the Earl's estate from this great indebtedness concludes that "if Dudley had never accomplished more than this he would have been entitled to a very worthy place among business men." He further says:

"Perhaps one of the most marvelous features in it, after all, was that he acquired such an ascendancy over the fourth Earl of Lincoln that he allowed him to limit and restrain his expenditures within the lines of prudence, and taught him the secret of self-restraint, self-sacrifice and economy, and in it and through it all retained the Earl's abiding confidence in his ability and integrity, together with the highest esteem for the excellent qualities of his character, and a due and constant deference to him and his opinions until his departure across the Atlantic." (*Life of Thos. Dudley*, 41.)

A service of a more delicate and interesting nature performed by Dudley for the earl was of "procuring a match between the daughter of the Lord Say and this Theophilus, Earl of Lincoln, who was (as Mather tells us) so wise, virtuous and every way so an accomplished

lady, that she proved a great blessing to the whole family." (*Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 1870, 212.)

This was the same Countess of Lincoln to whom Dudley wrote a letter shortly after his removal to New England. This letter is considered invaluable from an historical standpoint. Young declared it to be "the most interesting as well as authentic document in our early annals." (*Chron.*, 340.) It showed from the pen of Thomas Dudley the exact condition of the colony soon after his arrival, and is dated Boston, in New England, March 12th, 1630.

Our narrative has now brought us down to the time when Thomas Dudley began his career as a historic personage. At the beginning of this paper reference has been made to the fact that Thomas Dudley with other Puritan friends came to America in 1630, the purpose being to found a colony where they could rely upon political and religious freedom. It would appear, as we then pointed out, that several years prior to Dudley's departure for America this scheme had been uppermost in his mind. Cotton Mather says that

"when the enterprise for New England began to be set forth, Mr. Dudley embraced that opportunity, and so resolved to leave England and travel over the sea into the deserts of America that there he might with other Nonconformists enjoy his liberty to the utmost of what he desired." (*Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Jan., 1870, 216.)

Dudley himself, in his letter to the Countess of Lincoln, explains his early association with the project. He thus expresses himself:

"Touching the Plantation which we here have begun, it fell out thus: About the year 1627, some friends, being together in Lincolnshire, fell into discourse about New England; and the planting of the Gospel there; and after some deliberation we imparted our reasons by letters and messages, to some in London and the west country, where it was likewise deliberately thought upon, and at length with often negotiation so ripened that in the year 1628 we procured a patent." (Young's *Chron.*, 309.)

Doyle says (*England in America*, Vol. 2, pp. 115, 116), in explanation of the purpose of founding the colony:

"In England the cause of Episcopacy seemed irresistibly triumphant; the last hope of the Puritan party lay in the establishment of a refuge beyond the Atlantic, and Plymouth furnished an encouraging example. What the humble fugitives from Scrooby had begun on a small scale, a community of wealthy merchants and gentry might carry out with far greater success.

"Nor were religious motives the only ones which might urge thoughtful men to look for a refuge beyond the ocean. In State as in Church the sky was black with the signs of coming evil. It was not merely that the liberties of Englishmen seemed in danger, and that assertions of the royal authority, which the nation had reluctantly forgiven to the necessities of the time and to the vigour of the Tudor monarchs, could not be brooked from weaker hands. The evil lay deeper. Not merely were the forms of political life broken through, but thoughtful men must have begun to feel that those forms, even if restored and observed, could not meet the wants of the nation. The political needs of the community seemed to have outgrown the machinery which had once satisfied them. The despair of Falkland was the despair, not of weakness, but of too clear a vision. If Strafford was willing to become the framer and defender of arbitrary government, it was because he saw more surely than others that the issue lay between despotism and revolution. When Winthrop and his followers sailed the storm had not yet broken, but the first warning sounds were heard. Well might Englishmen long for a refuge where they might preserve these constitutional forms whose day seemed in England to have passed away, and that political freedom which at home, if saved at all, could be saved only by the sword."

There had been a few prior attempts by the English to establish settlements on the shores of Massachusetts Bay. But they were mainly commercial ventures and were not successful in colonization. The most con-

spicuous was that of the Dorchester adventurers who started a settlement at Cape Ann in 1623, which only lasted three years. (Doyle, *English in America*, Vol. 2, p. 112.)

But these earlier failures proved to be valuable in the sense that they served to pave the way for the wave of emigration which brought Thomas Dudley and his prominent associates to our shores.

In March, 1628, John Endicott and a few others, with the aid of the Rev. John White, of Dorchester, of whom mention has already been made, formed a powerful association and obtained a patent from the Council of New England. This transferred to six grantees, including Endicott, all the territory from the Merrimac on the north to a point three miles south of the Charles River. Its extension inland was unlimited. But it was in conflict with some prior grants by the New England Council. (Doyle, *English in America*, Vol. 2, p. 116.) And Endicott was sent out in June, 1628, with sixty men and supplies to occupy the land. Endicott arrived September 6th at Naunkeag, where he, after concluding an amicable arrangement with Roger Conant Company (which had remained there since the failure of the Dorchester expedition), founded the colony and called it Salem, the Hebrew word for Peaceful (*England in America*, L. G. Tyler, *Am. Nation, a History*, Vol. IV, p. 186; Doyle, Vol. 2, p. 118.) Endicott established a church by mutual covenant, with Skelton as pastor, and Higginson as teacher. (Jones, p. 55.)

In July, 1629, Endicott started a settlement at Charlestown. (Tyler, p. 190.) The same year several hundred more emigrants arrived from England, and shortly after Endicott effected the ecclesiastical organization of the colony. (Tyler, p. 190.) All this was being done under the supervision of the Massachusetts Company in England, which in the meantime had secured a Royal Charter. This had been deemed extremely essential in order to circumvent the conflicting grants made by the New England Council. It had been obtained on March

4th, 1629. It constituted the Massachusetts Company a legal corporation under the title of the "Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England," confirming to them all the territory given by the Council for New England. It provided for the election annually of a Governor, Deputy Governor and eighteen Assistants who were to hold monthly meetings, and also the election of necessary officers, and under it the members could defend by force against attack directed against their territory, while the government of the Company could be fixed either in England or America. (Doyle, Vol. IV, pp. 120, 121.) Four times a year the governor, assistants and all the freemen were to be summoned to "a greate generall, and solemne assemblie" and these "greate and generall courts" were invested with full power to choose and admit into the company so many as they should think fit, to elect and constitute all requisite subordinate officers, and to make laws and ordinances for the welfare of the Company and for the government of the plantation. (*England in America*, by L. G. Tyler, *Am. Nation, Hist.*, by A. B. Hart, Vol. IV, p. 189.) Although the Company could transport all persons who volunteered to go, the corporate body alone could decide what liberties, if any, the emigrants should enjoy. The only restrictions in the charter were that the Company should license no man "to rob or spoil," hinder no one from fishing upon the coast of New England, and pass "no law contrary or repugnant to the lawes and statutes of England." The governor named in the charter of the Company was Matthew Cradock, but he did not leave England.

Mr. Doyle informs us (p. 121) the preliminary step of the newly organized Company was to establish a government resident in the colony, which we have seen the charter permitted. This was to consist of a Governor, a Deputy-Governor, and twelve councillors, or Assistants. Of these seven were to be named by the Company, three more chosen by the seven, and the Governor, and the remaining three appointed by the "old planters;"

that is to say, by those independent settlers whom Endicott had found already established on the territory of the Company under grants from the Council of New England. (Doyle, p. 121.)

Thomas Dudley's last residence in England was probably at Clipsham, County Rutland. He had previously been residing at Boston, in Lincolnshire. Jones' *Life of Thos. Dudley*, 53.) He sailed from the Isle of Wight in March, 1630, in the *Arbella*, one of a fleet of four ships, named after Lady *Arbella* Johnson, sister of the Earl of Lincoln, who with her husband, Isaac Johnson, were on board. Also Governor John Winthrop, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Rev. George Philips, William Coddington, Thomas Dudley's wife, Dorothy Dudley, his son Samuel and four daughters: Anne, wife of Simon Bradstreet, who was with her, and her sisters, Patience, Sarah and Mercy. (Jones' *Life of Thos. Dudley*, 58.)

An examination of the Massachusetts Colonial Records discloses that before Dudley sailed he was present at several meetings of the Court of Assistants held in England under the royal charter. On October 15, 16, 19, 1629, (Vol. 1, 54, 56,) at a meeting held Oct. 20, 1629, he was chosen as Assistant. (Vol. 1, 58.)

The last meeting of the Court of Assistants on English soil was held aboard the "*Arbella*" at Southampton on March 27, 1629. It was at this meeting that Thomas Dudley was chosen Deputy Governor in place of the first Deputy Governor, John Humphreys, who stayed behind in England. (*Mass. Col. Rec.*, 1, 70.) We are informed that the "*Arbella*" and the other three ships in a short time arrived at Yarmouth in the Isle of Wight where there was another week's delay. It was at this time that there was drawn up the famous "Humble Request" letter signed by the more prominent passengers, including Dudley. This was addressed to their brethren in the Church of England excusing and explaining their departure and declaring perfect loyalty to that church, as they did not want to be considered Separatists. (For Letter see Young's *Chron.* 275.)

They carried the first charter of Massachusetts with them. (Jones' *Life of Thos. Dudley*, 66-75.)

The "Arbella" arrived off Salem Harbor, Mass., June 12, 1630, after a nine weeks' voyage in which travellers were exposed to stormy and boisterous weather. (*England in America*, Tyler *Am. Nat.*, Vol. 4, p. 195.)

The condition in which Dudley found the colony on arrival is expressed in his letter to the Countess of Lincoln. He says:

"We found the colony in a sad and unexpected condition, about eighty of them being dead the winter before, and many of those alive weak and sick; all the corn and bread amongst them all hardly sufficient to feed them a fortnight, inasmuch that the remainder of a hundred and eighty servants we had the two years before sent over, coming to us for victuals to sustain them, we found ourselves wholly unable to feed them, by reason that the provisions shipped for them were taken out of the ship they were put in, and they who were trusted to ship them in another failed us and left them behind; whereupon necessity enforced us to our extreme loss, to give them all liberty, who had cost us about £16 or £20 a person, furnishing and sending over.

"But bearing these things as we might we began to consult the place of our sitting down; for Salem, where we landed pleased us not." (Young's *Chron.*, 325.)

Winthrop and Dudley after searching for a more satisfactory place, settled upon Charlestown, where they "dwelt in the Great House which was last year built in this town by Mr. Graves, and the rest of the servants." (Young's *Chron.*, 378.) The date of this removal was July 12, 1630. (Drake's *Antiq. of Boston*, p. 92.)

July 30 was set apart as a day of prayer, and the Rev. John Wilson entered into a church covenant with Winthrop, Dudley and Isaac Johnson, one of the assistants, and associating themselves with others formed the third Congregational Church established in New England, and elected as teacher John Wilson, and In-

crease Norvell to be ruling elder. (Winthrop, *New England*, I, 36.) It was at Charlestown August 23, 1630, that Winthrop and the assistants, Dudley and others, held their first formal session, and at once took strong measures to assert their authority. (*Mass. Col. Rec.*, 73.)

Charlestown, proving most unhealthy, the settlers moved to various small towns, one of which was named Boston, where the court of assistants removed to on September 7, 1630. (*Mass. Col. Rec.*, 75, 77.)

On October 19, 1630, there was held in Boston a general court which was the first in New England. Palfrey informs us that the membership consisted of the governor, deputy, eight assistants and one or two others, for these were all at that time possessing the franchise of the Company. (*New England*, I, 323.) The former officers were re-elected, and a resolution was adopted that "the freemen should have the power to choose assistants, when they are to be chosen, and the assistants to choose from among themselves the governor and his deputy." (*The American History*, A. B. Hart, Vol. 4, 199.) The court of assistants now got down to business, and, as the records show, made many orders benefiting the economic and social well-being of the colonists.

The limits of this paper will not permit other than a brief reference to the important events which are confined to the period of twenty-three years which embraced Governor Thomas Dudley's career in the colony. It is impossible to condense into a few pages that about which volumes have been written. Winthrop's *History of New England* printed at Hartford in 1790 is the most valuable and recognized authority on the period, and should be consulted where full details are required. (Doyle, *England in America*, 2, 109.) The Massachusetts Colonial Records disclose many references to Thomas Dudley. He was governor in 1634, 1640, 1645 and 1650. And when he was not governor he invariably held the office of deputy governor. Some

further references taken from Volume I of the Massachusetts Colonial Records follow:

- May 9, 1632, chosen Deputy Governor (95).
- June 5, 1632, granted 200 acres of land (96).
- May 29, 1633, chosen Deputy Governor (104).
- Apl. 1, 1634, granted 500 acres of land (114).
- May 14, 1634, chosen Governor (117).
- May 6, 1635, chosen Assistant (145).
- May 6, 1635, Commissioner of Military Affairs (146).
- May 6, 1635, Member of Committee to draft a Code of Laws (147).
- Sept. 3, 1635, given permission to employ an Indian (158).
- May 25, 1636, chosen Assistant and Counsellor for Life (174).
- May 25, 1636, deputed to keep court at Ipswich and Newberry.
- Dec. 13, 1636, Lt. Colonel (186).
- May 17, 1637, Deputy Governor (195).
- Nov. 2, 1637, granted 1,000 acres of land (206).
- Nov. 20, 1637, Member of Committee to found College of New Towne (Cambridge) (217).
- May 2, 1638, chosen Deputy Governor (227).
- May 22, 1639, chosen Deputy Governor (256).
- May 13, 1640, chosen Governor (288).
- June 2, 1641, chosen Assistant (319).
- Dec. 10, 1641, found to be owner of Watertowne mill in a suit by a Mr. Howe.

VOLUME II.

- May 10, 1643, chosen Assistant (33).
- May 29, 1644, chosen Assistant.
- May 29, 1644, chosen Sergeant Major General (66).
- May 14, 1645, chosen Governor (97).
- May 6, 1646, chosen Deputy Governor (146).
- May 29, 1647, chosen Deputy Governor (187).
- May 10, 1648, chosen Deputy Governor (238).
- May 2, 1649, chosen Deputy Governor (245).

The colony had hardly got under way before a double bereavement came upon Dudley. Lady Arbella Johnson died. She, it will be remembered, was the sister of his patron and dear friend, the Earl of Lincoln. A month afterwards, on September 30th, 1633, her husband, Isaac Johnson, fell a victim with many others to disease and privation. (Jones' *Life of Thos. Dudley*, 86.)

In 1632, Dudley, then deputy governor, brought certain charges against Governor Winthrop, one of which was that Winthrop had failed to carry out an undertaking to change his abode from Boston to Newtown, where Dudley had been thereby induced to move. Another was that Winthrop had exceeded his powers as governor. These and other charges were referred to a board of arbitrators, which, however, came to no formal decision, and in the course of events nothing came of the controversy. (Doyle, *English in America*, 2, 141, 142; Jones' *Life of Thomas Dudley*, 106-115.)

At first the government resolved itself into very much of a theocracy with Winthrop at the head, but gradually the rights of the freemen were restored. And at a General Court held on May 14th, 1634, which consisted of the governor, assistants and twenty-four representative freemen, Thomas Dudley became Governor for the first time; the ballot being secret. (Winthrop, 1, 128, 132; Doyle, *English in America*, 142-145.)

The colony long before this time had developed many enemies in England, some of whom were undesirable individuals who had been banished from the colony and who now endeavored to get the King to call in the royal charter by complaints accusing the government and people of Massachusetts of an intent to cast off allegiance at the first opportunity. (*American Hist.*, Hart, Vol. IV, 204.) At first the King paid no attention to these representations, but as emigration to the colony greatly increased, which included some of England's best non-conformist citizens, the King became aroused, and the company was commanded by the Privy Council to hand

in the charter. (*Hazard State Papers*; Winthrop, *N. E.* 1, 161.)

This order was received by Governor Dudley in July, 1634, through Cradock, the London representative of the company.

But Dudley and his assistants were defiant and made answer to the effect that the charter could not be returned except by command of the general court, not then in session. (*Am. History* Hart, Vol. 4, 206.) The colony at once began to put itself upon a military basis, by fortifying Boston, Dorchester, Charlestown, Castle Island and Salem, and organizing the train bands. (*Mass. Col. Rec.* 1, 123, 124.) And in furtherance of this preparation the General Court on September 3rd, 1634, appointed a committee to manage the war with Thomas Dudley, the governor, at the head. (*Mass. Col. Rec.* 1, 125.) Dudley was a man of experience in military affairs, and is generally conceded to have been the foremost soldier in the colony. (Jones, *Thos. Dudley*, 184.)

It is difficult perhaps for us to conceive the necessity for the government of such an early colony to restrict even in war times the fashion of the apparel which the colonists were permitted to wear, but nevertheless very stringent laws were passed in this respect. It is interesting to quote the following:

"The Court, taking into consideration the great, superfluous, and unnecessary expenses occasioned by reason of some new and immodest fashions, as also the ordinary wearing of silver, gold and silk laces, girdles, hat bands, etc., hath therefore ordered that no person, either man or woman, shall hereafter make or buy any apparel, either woollen, silk, or linen, with any lace on it, silver, gold, silk or thread, under the penalty of forfeiture of such cloths, etc.

"Also that no person, either man or women, shall make or buy any slashed clothes, other than one slash in each sleeve, and another in the back; also all cutworks, embroidered or needle-work caps, bands, and rayles, are forbidden hereafter to be made and worn, under the

aforesaid penalty; also, all gold or silver girdles, hat-bands, belts, ruffs, beaver hats, are prohibited to be bought and worn hereafter under the aforesaid penalty, etc.

"Provided, and it is the meaning of the Court, that men and women shall have liberty to wear out such apparel as they have now provided of (except the immoderate great sleeves, slashed apparel, immoderate great rayles, long wings, etc.); this order to take place a fortnight after the publishing thereof." (*Mass. Col. Rec.*, i, 126.)

"It is further ordered, that no person whatsoever shall either buy or sell any tobacco within this jurisdiction after the last of September next." (*Mass. Col. Rec.*, i, 236.)

"Whereas complaint hath been made to this Court that divers persons within this jurisdiction do usually absent themselves from church meetings upon the Lord's day, power is therefore given to any two assistants to hear and censure, either by fine or imprisonment (at their discretion), all misdemeanors of that kind committed by any inhabitant within this jurisdiction." (*Mass. Col. Rec.*, i, 142.)

In 1635 we find Dudley a member of a committee with the governor to draw up a code of laws for the colony. (*Mass. Col. Rec.* i, 147.) The same year his business qualifications were recognized in his appointment to a committee "to consult, advise and take order for the setting forwards and of the managing of a fishing trade." (*Mass. Col. Rec.* i, 158.)

We are informed that in 1635 Dudley removed from Cambridge to Ipswich accompanied by his sons-in-law, Bradstreet and Major General Daniel Denison, and his oldest son, Samuel Dudley. (Jones, 211.)

On March 3, 1636, Dudley with Winthrop was elected for life a member of the Standing Council. He was a member of the Court which met November 2, 1637, which banished the celebrated Mrs. Anne Hutchison, one of the leaders of the Antinormian party.

It is interesting to note that Harvard College was founded about this time. At a General Court, held November 15, 1637, a college was ordered at Newtown (Mass. Col. Rec. 1, 183, 208), and on the 20th day of the same month the Court appointed a committee to carry out the project, which included Thomas Dudley. John Harvard died in 1638, leaving his library, and one-half of his fortune to the institution. The college was chartered in 1642, and received a new charter in 1650 which was signed by Governor Thomas Dudley, who was on the Board of Overseers of the college from November 20th, 1637, until his death.

In 1639, Dudley changed his residence to Roxbury, where he remained until his death. Cotton Mather gives the reasons as follows:

"The country soon found a need of his wisdom to help to strengthen them in that storm of trouble that began to arise immediately after his removal (to Ipswich in 1635), so as the necessity of the government and importunity of friends, enforced him to return back two or three years after his going away. The town he returned unto was called Roxbury, within two miles of Boston, where he was near at hand to be counseled or advised with in any exigency; divers of which did presently appear, after his return; of him it was verified what the poet said, 'Virtutem, presentem, odimus, sublatam ex oculis quaerimus invisit.' " (*Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Jan., 1870, 219, 220.)

It appears that during the period between 1636 and 1640 there was an extensive reorganization of the courts, during which time Dudley was continuously a magistrate and active in this connection. (Jones, *Dudley*, 264.)

In 1640, Thomas Dudley became governor for the second time. (Winthrop (11, 3) refers to this:

"Some trouble there had been in making way for his election and it was obtained with some difficulty, for many of the elders labored much in it, fearing lest the long continuance of one man in the place should bring it to be for life, and in time hereditary. Besides, this

gentleman (Dudley) was a man of approved wisdom and godliness, and of much good service to the country, and therefore it was his due to share in such honor and benefit as the country had to bestow."

Alden Bradford (*Hist. of Mass.*, 45), however said, speaking in 1822:

"Dudley was a man of great integrity and piety, but bigoted and intolerant in his theological views... Winthrop was passed by, not from any disesteem or want of confidence of the people, but to relieve him of the cares of government, and probably in accordance with the republican maxim of rotation in office."

Mr. Augustine Jones (*Life of Thos. Dudley*, 271), in contrasting these two statements remarks:

"In comparing the actions of these two foremost men of that period, it is quite evident that Winthrop made what effort he could to be re-elected, but the popular current, for democratic reasons, was against him and in favor of Dudley. As we have said before, it was no doubt a matter of principle with Dudley, on account of his regard for rotation in office, not to occupy the governor's position oftener than once in five years."

Mr. Jones informs us that many important laws were passed during 1640, and that one of the most remarkable events which occupied Dudley's official life was his reception of Miantonomah, the great sachem of Narragansett, at his home in Roxbury. (Jones, 273.)

In 1643 (May 10) occurred the important event of the political federation of Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Haven, the four principal colonies of New England, and Dudley was appointed a member of the committee from Massachusetts to bring this about. The purposes of which were protection from attack from the Indians, who it was thought, had combined against the colonies, and the regulation of other important affairs other than these purely of a domestic character.

It was during this year that Dudley lost his wife, Dorothy, who died on December 27th, 1643, aged 61. (Jones, 318.)

In 1644 Dudley was chosen for the new office of sergeant major general, which gave him sole command of the militia. His Commission says:

"But for the ordering and managing of any battle in time of service, it is wholly left to yourself. Also yourself, together with the council of war, shall have power to make such wholesome laws, agreeable to the word of God, as you shall conceive to be necessary for the well ordering of your army."

On May 14, 1655, Dudley was for the third time elected governor.

The Rev. John Eliot, the apostle to the Indians, refers to the following anagram which was sent to Dudley just after his election. (*Hist. of Roxbury*, 103, 104; Eliot's *Rec.*, *Hist. Gen. Reg.*, Jan., 1879.)

"THOMAS DUDLEY.

Ah, Old, must dye.

A death's head on you, you should not weare;

A dying head, you on your shoulders beare.

You need not one to mind you, you must dye.

You in your name may spell mortalitye,

Young men may dye, but old men they dye must.

Lord it can't be long } before you turne to dust.

'Twill not be long }

Before you turne to dust! Ah, Must, Old! dye!

What shall younge doe, when old in dust doe lye,

When old in dust lye; what shall New England doe?

When old in dust lye, it's best dye too."

(*Hist. of Roxbury*, 103, 104; Eliot's *Records*, *Hist. Gen. Reg.*, Jan., 1879.)

An expression of the esteem and confidence in which Dudley's fellow citizens held him at this time is shown by the following order passed by the General Court held November 4, 1646. (*Mass. Col. Rec.*, II, 165.)

"The Corte doth thankfully acknowledge ye good service or honored Deputy Govnr. hath done in ye place of Govnr. the last yeare & not a little troubled yt ye pressing & many urgent necessities & necessary charges of this

colony are such as to intervene between his deserved merits & ye inst recompence wch. this Corte is used to alow; but believing he is no less sensible of ye premises then ourselves, we doubt not of his loveing acceptance of so slender an acknowledgmt. have thought meete or orde ye honored Deputy Governor shall be almost out of ye next levy ye sum of 160."

In 1647 Dudley was made the Commissioner of the United Colonies of the Confederacy (Jones, 273), and the following year while deputy governor of Massachusetts was chosen substitute commissioner of the United Colonies. (Jones, 274.)

On March 10th, 1649, we find Thomas Dudley's name as Deputy Governor, a member of an association with the other assistant having for its object the abolition of long hair. (Jones, 387; Hutchins I, 151.)

In 1649 Dudley was again appointed commissioner of the United Colonies for the last time. Although seventy-three years of age, he was at once chosen president of the confederacy, but illness prevented him from attending its services. (Jones, 389.)

But Dudley was once more elected governor. On May 22, 1650, he was chosen for the last time, twenty years after his arrival in the colony.

In May, 1651, Endicott succeeded Dudley as governor, and Dudley for the twelfth time became deputy governor. At the annual election held in Boston May 22, 1652, Dudley was chosen Deputy Governor for the last time.

Thomas Dudley died on July 31, 1653, and he was buried at Roxbury on August 6, 1653, in the 77th year of his age. (*N. E. Gen. & Antiq.* XXXIV, 86.) The following entry appears on the Colonial record in his memory:

"It is ordered by this Court, that the treasurer shall pay unto the present secretary six pounds for powder sold unto the captain of the castle, expended at Mr. Dudley's funeral, and that, according to a former agreement with him, both for price and pay, this to be paid

out of this country rate now in being, and the captain of the castle is to take up his bond." (*Mass. Col. Rec.*, iii, 329.)

Mr. Jones tells us that Dudley's reputation has suffered by the writers of poetry, without any intention upon their part to do other than eulogize him. He refers to the following:

"Here lies Thomas Dudley, that trusty old steed,
A bargain's a bargain, and must be made good."

The epitaph on his tomb by his daughter Anne Bradstreet, is as follows:

"Within this tomb a Patriot lies
That was both pious, just and wise,
To truth a shield, to right a wall,
To sectaries a whip and maul,
A magazine of history,
A prizer of good company,
In manners pleasant and severe;
The good him lov'd, the bad did fear
And when his time with years was spent,
If some rejoic'd, more did lament."

Governor Thomas Dudley married, first, Dorothy (surname unknown), whom he married in England; she died at Roxbury, Massachusetts, 27 Dec. 1643, aged 61 years. He married, second, 14 April, 1644, Catherine, widow of Samuel Hackburn, of Roxbury, and daughter of ——— Dighton; she married Rev. John Allen after Governor Dudley's death, and died 31 July, 1653, at Roxbury.

Issue of Governor Thomas Dudley by his first marriage:

(1) Rev. Samuel Dudley, born about 1610; a settled minister at Exeter, N. H., from 1650 until his death, 10 Feb. 1683. He married, first, in 1632, Mary, daughter of Governor John Winthrop; she died at Salisbury, Mass., 12 April, 1643. He married, second, Mary, daughter of ——— Byley, of Sarum, England, and sister of Henry Byley, of Salisbury, Mass. Rev.

Samuel Dudley was one of the founders of the town of Salisbury 1638; also Associate Judge of Norfolk County.

(2) Anne Dudley, born about 1612, a poetess. She married, about 1628, Governor Simon Bradstreet and died at Andover 16 Sep., 1672. She was the author of the first book of poems published in America, 1640.

(3) Patience Dudley, married Major General Daniel Denison at Cambridge, and died 8 Feb., 1689-90, at Ipswich, Mass.

(4) Sarah Dudley, baptized 23 July, 1620, at Sep-
ringham, co. of Lincoln, England; married, first, Sep. 1,
1638, Major Benjamin Keayne, son of Captain Robert
Keayne, the first commander of the Ancient and Hon-
orable Artillery Company. She married, second,
Thomas Pacy (or Pacey), of Boston, Mass., in 1649.

(5) Mercy Dudley, born 27 Sep., 1621; married in
1639, Rev. John Woodbridge, of Newbury, Mass., and
died 1 July, 1691, at Newbury.

Issue of Governor Thomas Dudley by his second
marriage:

(6) Deborah Dudley, born 27 Feb., 1645; married
Jonathan Wade, of Medford, and died 1 Nov., 1683.
He was Captain of the "Three County Troop of Horse."
He died 24 Nov., 1689.

(7) Joseph Dudley, President and Governor of Mas-
sachusetts. He was born 23 Sep., 1647, at Roxbury,
and died there 2 April, 1720. He married, about 1651,
Rebecca, daughter of Hon. Edward Tyng; she died 21
Sep., 1722. He was graduated at Harvard in 1665.
May 15, 1691, he was commissioned Chief Justice of
New York. When but 34 years old he had been for
four years Commissioner of the United Colonies. Sep-
tember 27, 1685, he was commissioned by King James
II President of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine
and Rhode Island. In 1702 Queen Anne appointed
him Governor of Massachusetts, remaining in that
office the balance of his life.

(See Augustine Jones' *Life of Thomas Dudley and His-
tory of the Dudley Family*, by Dean Dudley, Vol. I, p. 17.)

John Haynes,

GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY, 1635.
GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT, 1639, AND ALTERNATE
YEARS TO 1652.

Read by JAMES FREDERICK FAHNESTOCK.

October 11, 1917.

John Haynes the first Governor of the colony of Connecticut, and third of Massachusetts, is generally recognized by historians as one of the most distinguished of the pioneer executives of old New England. He was born in County Essex, England, in 1594, towards the close of the renowned Queen Elizabeth's reign, and nine years before the easy going James, the first of the Stuart line, became King. He came of a wealthy and influential Essex family, and becoming imbued with the principles of the Puritan faith, he forsook the comfortable surroundings of his native land to come to the sparsely settled, and then uncongenial shores of America. It was in the year 1633 that Haynes and several equally prominent Puritans set sail for Massachusetts, they having been encouraged in this undertaking by the successful outcome of the settlements which their predecessors Winthrop, Endicott, Dudley and others had already established in that colony. The main object of all this emigration was to obtain relief and independence from the persecution and intolerance of both Church and State in England to which these Puritans had been long subject. Upon Haynes' arrival in America he almost immediately identified himself with political affairs. In 1635 he was chosen the third governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, but soon gravitated to Connecticut, where several important settlements already existed. He was conspicuous in the undertaking of uniting these under one government, and in 1637, became its first governor. This important office he held every second year afterwards until his death in 1654.

Governor Haynes married twice. First, Mary, the daughter and co-heir of Robert Thornton of Hingham Co. Norfolk. This marriage took place before Haynes came to America. His second wife was Mabel, daughter of Richard Harlakenden of Co. Essex and Mary Hubbard (or Hobart), whom he married at Hartford, Conn. There was issue of both marriages. As the descent through the male line of both marriages long since became extinct, there are no living descendants of Gov. Haynes either in England or America bearing the name Haynes.

Although John Haynes was thirty-nine years of age when he set sail for America, we know little of his early life in England, other than the few references extant as to his prominent Essex connections and inherited wealth. His estate has been referred to as having been worth £1000 a year, certainly a considerable figure for those days. He was born May 1st, 1594 and was the son of John Haynes of Old Holt, Parish of Copford, County Essex, who had married Mary Mitchell. Before 1624 he purchased the manor of Copford Hall, County Essex.

He had a sister, Mary, who became the wife of one John Bailey of Clavering Co. Essex; and a brother Emanuel has been referred to.

By his first wife Governor John Haynes had two sons, Robert of Copford Hall his eldest son and heir, and Hezekiah (born 1609) who was a Major General in the Civil Wars who was heir to Robert. Robert espoused the royal cause, but Hezekiah sided with the Parliament receiving his rank of major-general under Cromwell. The success of Parliament caused Robert to be put under confinement. and he died without issue. Hezekiah enjoyed Copford Hall under his father Governor Haynes until the latter's decease when he "possessed it as a paternal inheritance, and it descended to his heirs." (Trumbull, Vol. I, p. 216.)

The last owner of Copford Hall bearing the name Haynes was Hezekiah Haynes, grandson and heir of his

father John Haynes. He died November 16th, 1763, aged 80 years. At his death the manor passed into the hands of the Harrison family (See Burke's *Landed Gentry*).

As to Governor Haynes' issue and descendants by his second wife mention will be made later.

Bancroft's estimate of the man who was about to become one of the original founders of New England is worth quoting. He says: (Hist. I. 362) "possessing a large estate and a larger affections, of a heavenly mind and spotless life; of rare sagacity, and accurate but unassuming judgment, by nature tolerant, ever a friend to freedom, and ever conciliating peace."

Another American writer says in a short biographical sketch of Governor Haynes: "This gentleman of easy fortune surrounded by all the comforts of life had no motive of a pecuniary nature to exchange his native land for another." (*Memoirs of American Governors*, J. B. Moore, Vol. I, 297.)

We are indebted to Governor John Winthrop for a succinct record of Haynes' departure from England, and long voyage across the Atlantic, which brought him to Boston on September 4, 1633. The following entry appears in his journal (p. 105).

"The 'Griffin,' a ship of three hundred tons, arrived (having been eight weeks from the Downs)...In this ship came Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, and Mr. Stone, ministers, and Mr. Peirce, Mr. Haynes (a gentleman of great estate), Mr. Hoffe, and many other men of good estates. They got out of England with much difficulty, all places being belaid to have taken Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker, who had been long sought for to have been brought into the High Commission; but the master being bound to touch at the Wight, the pursuivants attended there, and, in the meantime, the said ministers were taken in at the Downs." (Winthrop's *Journal*, p. 105.)

We learn too from Moore that during the voyage three sermons a day beguiled the passengers.

At this period the early settlers of Massachusetts had passed through many years of trial. Uncertainty prevailed as to whether the colony was going to prove ultimately successful, population was waning, sickness and famine having taken off many. But steadfast optimism and belief in Providence had carried these intrepid people through safely. More ships began to arrive containing necessary immigrants and supplies, so that by the time Haynes and his companions set foot in the colony, although there were yet many obstacles to overcome, it had emerged from its worst tribulations and was well on its way to obtaining a sure foothold.

The three eminent divines who accompanied Haynes, John Cotton, Thomas Hooker and Thomas Shephard, reinforced considerably the strict theocratic government prevailing. Commenting upon the state of the Massachusetts government at this time a modern writer says:

"Puritanism entered the warp and woof of the Massachusetts colony, and a combination of circumstances tended to build up a theocracy which dominated affairs. The ministers who came over were among the most learned men of the age, and the influence which their talents and character gave them was greatly increased by the sufferings and the isolation of the church members, who were thus brought to confide all the more in those who, under such conditions, dispensed religious consolation. Moreover, the few who had at first the direction of civil matters were strongly religious men, and inclined to promote the unity of the church by all the means at hand." (*The American Nation, a History*, Vol. 4, pp. 200-205).

John Winthrop was governor of Massachusetts at this time. In 1634 he was succeeded by the intolerant Thomas Dudley. On May 14th, 1634, Haynes was admitted a freeman, and at "a General Court holden at Boston he was chosen one of the assistants," (*Rec. of Mass.*, Ed. of 1853, Vol. I, p. 118) and further honors awaited him. He was placed on the extraordinary commission consisting of seven persons, with power to dispose

of "all military affairs whatsoever." They were also deputed to levy war defensive and offensive, and to imprison, or put to death, any whom they should judge to be enemies to the Commonwealth. (*Memoirs of Am. Gov.*, J. B. Moore, Vol. 1, p. 297; Mass. Col. Rec., Vol. 1, 239.)

In the following year, 1635, John Haynes became the third governor of Massachusetts. Winthrop in his *Journal* refers to this event as follows:

"Mo. 3 (May) 6. A general court was held at Newtown, where John Haynes, Esq. was chosen governor, Richard Bellingham, Esq. deputy governor, and Mr. Hough and Mr. Dummer chosen assistants to the former, and Mr. Ludlow, the late deputy, left out of the magistracy. The reason was, partly because the people would exercise their absolute power, etc., and partly upon some speeches of the deputy, who protested against the election of the governor as void, for that the deputy of the several towns had agreed upon the election before they came, etc. But this was generally discussed, and the election adjudged good." (Winthrop's *Jour.*, Hosmer, Vol. 1, p. 149.)

One of Governor Haynes first acts was to put a stop to the activities of the Dutch in Connecticut. Having received information that they contemplated a settlement on the Connecticut river, he sent a barque around the Cape to the Dutch governor to inform him that the King had granted that territory to the English; which pacific means had the desired effect of avoiding hostilities. (*Memoirs of American Governors*, J. B. Moore, Vol. 1, p. 299.)

Haynes only served one year as Governor of Massachusetts, being succeeded in 1636 by the popular young Sir Henry Vane, son of one of the secretaries of state of England, who, being of a religious turn, forsook all the honors and preferments of the court and came to Massachusetts. (*Am. Nat. A History*, Vol. 4, pp. 200, 221.)

Hutchinson says, in referring to this election; that:

"Mr. Haynes being no longer a rival to Mr. Winthrop, he could have been the most popular man, if Mr. Vane's solemn deportment, although he was not then more than 24 or 25 years of age, had not engaged almost the whole colony in his favor." Savage says of Mr. Haynes that he was "fortunate in being governor of Massachusetts, and more fortunate in removing after his first year in office, thereby avoiding our bitter contentions, to become the factor of the new colony of Connecticut."

In 1636, Haynes was Colonel of the Second Regiment of Massachusetts Militia.

Governor Haynes, with others, as early as 1634, had taken measures to found a new settlement on the Connecticut River, and, for this purpose, application was made to the General Court in Massachusetts for the necessary authority. This however was not at once given, but consent being finally obtained in October, 1635, an expedition of sixty men commenced settlements at Windsor and Weathersfield, but owing to the hard winter, and want of provisions, the project had to be given up, and most of the party were forced to return to Boston. The next spring, however, about one hundred persons emigrated under the leadership of their two eminent ministers, Thomas Hooker and Samuel Stone, (Winthrop I, 223), and by the beginning of the winter of 1636-1637, about eight hundred people were established in the three townships of Hartford, Weathersfield and Windsor. The lands occupied by these settlers upon the Connecticut lay within a grant, executed March 19th, 1631, by the Earl of Warwick as president of New England, for

"all that part of New England in America which lies and extends itself from a river there called Narragansett River, the space of forty leagues upon a straight line near the seashore towards the southwest, west, and by south, or west, as the coast lieth towards Virginia, accounting three English miles to the league; and also all and singular the lands and hereditaments whatsoever, lying and being within the lands aforesaid, north and

south in latitude and breadth, and in length and longitude of and within, all the breadth aforesaid, throughout the main-lands there, from the western ocean to the south sea.' The grantees included Lord Say and Sele, Lord Brooke, and Sir Richard Saltonstall." (*American Nation, a History*, A. B. Hart, Vol. 4, p. 248.)

"The people of Connecticut" were at first governed for a year by a commission issued by the general court of Massachusetts in concert with John Winthrop, Jr., as representative of the patentees. (*Mass. Col. Records*, I, 170).

Upon the expiration of the year the commission was not renewed and Connecticut ceased to acknowledge political dependence upon Massachusetts. A general court representing the three towns, which consisted of six assistants and nine delegates, three for each town, was held at Hartford in May 1637. (*Am. Nation, a Hist.* Vol. 4, pp. 249, 250.)

This union of government came none too soon, for the most momentous event of early Connecticut was about to take place, namely the Pequod war. Governor John Haynes removed with his family to Connecticut on May 2, 1637 (Winthrop's *Journal*, Vol. I, p. 213), just about the time that this great danger to the colony was asserting itself. After Haynes arrived in Connecticut he wrote to Governor Winthrop requesting assistance.

In Winthrop's *Journal* we find the following entry under date of May 2, 1637: "Mr. Haynes, one of our magistrates removed with his family to Connecticut" and later, "We received a letter from him and others, being then at Saybrook, that the Pequods had been up the river at Weathersfield, and had killed six men, being at their work, and twenty cows and a mare, and had killed three women, and carried away two maids. *Orig. Nar., Early Am. Hist.*, Hosmer, Vol. 1, p. 213.) The Pequods hostility had been in the main engendered by some ill advised action upon the part of the Massachusetts government in requiring an annual heavy tribute of wampum, and sending a force against them in July

1636, commanded by John Endicott, which had the result of eventually bringing on the war. By May 1637, "when the first general court convened at Hartford upward of thirty persons had fallen beneath the tomahawk." (*Am. Nat., a Hist.*, A. B. Hart, Vol. 4, pp. 231-254.) Prompt measures for defence at once became necessary. Without waiting for the assistance of Massachusetts, immediate action was taken, and for this purpose at the Court summoned at Hartford, it was determined that ninety men should be raised forthwith, (nearly one-half of the effective force of the colony) and notwithstanding the famished condition of the people the necessary supplies were voted.

Captain John Mason, an officer who had served in the Netherlands under Sir Thomas Fairfax took command. This Capt. Mason had been previously authorized to train men for the common defence as shown by the following record, which is interesting as showing the method which prevailed in those days for raising fighting men. The entry reads:

"It is also ordered that the said Captaine Mason shall have the liberty to traine the saide military men in every plantacion ten days in every yeare, soe as it be not in June or July, giving a weeke warning before hand and whosoever y^t is allowed a soldier and faile to come at the time appointed by the said publique officer to pay for his default 3 s for y^t time etc.

"It is ordred that all y^r sons shall beare armes that are above the age of sixteene yeares except they doe tender a sufficient excuse to the Corte' the Corte allowe the same. The Com^{rs} and Church Officers for the present to be exempted etc." (*Col. Rec. Conn.* Vol. 1, p. 15.)

Captain Mason and his men augmented by 70 Mohegans sailed down the Connecticut. Instead of landing at the Pequot river as he had been ordered, and which the Pequods expected, Mason used better strategy, and sailed for the Narragansett country, and disembarked near Point Judith where he was joined by 200 Narragan-

setts (who later deserted him). Capt. Mason then by executing a turning movement westward by a secret and swift march was able to approach within a few feet of the Indian Fort on the Mystic River before the Indians sounded an alarm. (Mason, *Pequot War* (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 2nd Ser. VIII) 134-136.)

The result was a complete victory for Mason, nearly all the Indians in the fort amounting to about four hundred souls being massacred or burnt alive as the English threw fire brands among the wigwams, Mason only losing two white men. (Ibid, Underhill, *Pequot War* (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 3rd ser. VI) 25.)

Trumbull's description of the holocaust is as follows:

"Notwithstanding the suddenness of the attack, the blaze and thunder of their arms, the enemy made a manly and desperate resistance...taking advantage of every covert."

After considerable hand to hand fighting, it was decided that the only successful expedient was to burn the wigwams. This so terrorized the Indians that, as Trumbull goes on to describe (p. 85):

"Some climbed the pallisadoes, and were instantly brought down by the fire of the English muskets. Others, desperately sallying forth from their burning cells, were shot, or cut in pieces with the sword. Such terror fell upon them, that they would run back from the English, into the very flames. Great numbers perished in the conflagration.

"The greatness and violence of the fire, the reflection of the light, the flashing and roar of the arms, the shrieks and yellings of the men, women and children, in the fort, and the shoutings of the Indians without, just as the dawning of the morning, exhibited a grand and awful scene. In a little more than an hour this whole work of destruction was finished. Seventy wigwams were burnt, and five or six hundred Indians perished, either by the sword, or in the flames. A hundred and fifty warriors had been sent on, the evening before, who, that very morning, were to have gone forth against the En-

glish. Of these, and all who belonged to the fort, seven only escaped, and seven were made prisoners. It had been previously concluded not to burn the fort, but to destroy the enemy, and take the plunder; but the captain afterwards found it the only expedient to obtain the victory, and save his men. Thus parents and children, the sannup and squaw, the old man and the babe, perished in promiscuous ruin."

This fight, however, by no means ended the trouble, for there were still some Pequots left, who endeavored to join the Mohawks who lived across the Hudson. They were pursued by Mason with the aid of Captain Israel Stoughton with about 160 soldiers, and attacked and defeated in a swamp near New Haven. This is referred to as "The Great Swamp Fight." Many were captured or put to death. All the captive men, women and children were made slaves, some being kept in New England, while others were sent to the West Indies. (Trumbull, Conn. I, 92.)

Trumbull states that it was supposed that about seven hundred Pequots were destroyed and concludes "The conquest of the Pequots struck all Indians in New England with terror, and they were possessed with such fear of the displeasure of the English, that they had no open war with them for nearly forty years." (p. 93.)

The importance to New England of the successful termination of the Pequot War cannot be over estimated. All historians agree that no event of that period had a greater influence on its destiny. The Pequots were the most savage and bloodthirsty of the several tribes of Indians which inhabited New England, and they dominated that country. Their many acts of unjustifiable killing of innocent men, women and children, coupled with acts of barbarous cruelty, made apparent to the peaceful settlers of the Connecticut Valley, if successful colonization was to be assured, the necessity of their subjugation, and, if necessary, their extermination, and in this judgment they were supported by the surrounding colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, New Haven

and Rhode Island. In short, matters had come to such a pass, that unless these few settlers were able to exterminate or drive this powerful tribe out of the country, they would come to that end themselves.

It is with these thoughts in mind that we must view the Pequot War in passing judgment upon the strong and horrible measures necessarily resorted to by Captain Mason in his capture and burning of Fort Mystic with its Pequot warriors. John Fiske, in his *Beginnings of New England*, in referring to the Pequot war aptly says:

"As a matter of practical policy, the annihilation of the Pequots can be condemned only by those who read history so incorrectly as to suppose that savages, whose business it is to torture and slay, can always be dealt with according to the methods in use between civilized peoples. A mighty nation like the United States is in honor bound to treat the red man with scrupulous justice and refrain from cruelty in punishing his delinquencies. But if the founders of Connecticut, in confronting a danger which threatened their very existence, struck with savage fierceness, we cannot blame them. The world is so made that it is only in that way that the higher races have been able to preserve themselves and carry on their progressive work."

As a result of this war in which Gov. Haynes was a guiding spirit, the two hundred Pequots remaining lost their country and identity, for by a treaty negotiated September 21st, 1638, between the Connecticut delegates and the Narragansetts and Mohegans, the Pequot country became the property of the Connecticut towns, and the remaining Pequots were divided between these two tribes (Trumbull, *Conn. I.*, 93; Mason *Pequot War* (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Col.* 2nd Ser. VIII), 148). Connecticut having freed herself from this menace to her progress was able to advance and form for herself a stable government in connection with her natural development.

Accordingly the freemen of the three towns upon the Connecticut, *i. e.* a mass meeting of all the people, con-

vened at Hartford, January 14th, 1639, and adopted "the Fundamental Orders" which has been pronounced by some historians, the first written Constitution framed by a community, through its own representatives as a basis for government (*Am. Nation, a Hist.*, Hart, Vol. IV, p. 258.)

A modern writer says in quoting from the preamble:

"It is significant that the framers of this constitution—Hooker with his passion for democracy, Haynes with his liberal spirit, and Ludlow with his profound legal knowledge and insight—arranged that the sovereign rights of the people be given up and vested in the General Court, declaring that since the inhabitants of the three settlements are dwelling together on the Connecticut, and the Bible requires peace and union, therefore 'we do associate and conjoin ourselves to be one public STATE or COMMONWEALTH; and do, for ourselves and our successors, and such as shall be adjoined to us at any time hereafter, enter into combination and confederation together to maintain and preserve the purity of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus; as also in our civil affairs to be guided and governed according to such laws, rules, orders and decrees, as shall be made, ordered and decreed, as followeth:' " (*History of Conn.*, G. L. Clark, p. 62.)

This constitution contained no recognition of any superior authority in England and provided

"that the freemen were to hold two general meetings a year, at one of which they were to elect the governor and assistants, who, with four deputies from each town, were to constitute a general court 'to make laws or repeal them, to grant levies, to admit freemen, to dispose of lands undisposed of to several towns or persons, call the court or magistrate or any other person whatsoever into question for any misdemeanor, and to deal in any other matter that concerned the good of the commonwealth, except election of magistrates, which was 'to be done by the whole body of freemen.' " (*Am. Nation, a Hist.*, Vol. 4, p. 258. *Conn. Col. Rec.* I, 20-25, 119.)

Agreeably to the constitution the freemen convened at Hartford on the second Thursday in April (April 11, 1639) and elected their officers for the year ensuing. It was at this assembly that John Haynes was chosen as the first governor of Connecticut. The exact record of this event taken from the early records of the colony is as follows:

"At a General Meeting of the Freemen for the Elections of Magistrates, according to the orders

"Jno. Haynes, Esq^r, was chosen Governor for the yeare ensuing or untill a new be chosen.

Mr. Roger Ludlow, Deputy

Mr. George Willis, Mr. Edward Hopkins, Mr. Thomas Wells, Mr. Jno. Webster, Mr. Wm. Phelps, Assistants.

Mr. Edward Hopkins, Secretary

Mr. Thomas Wells, Treasurer."

(Conn. Col. Rec. I, p. 27.)

The constitution required the governor to be a member of some regular church, he must have been a magistrate, and he could not serve two terms in succession.

Although the government was strongly ecclesiastical it was not nearly as much so as that of Massachusetts.

One of Governor Haynes first acts was to press upon the Assembly the necessity of enacting a code of laws, which they proceeded to do as occasion required. Trumbull says (*Hist. Conn.*, p. 103):

"The laws at first were few, and time was taken to consider and digest them. The first statute in the Connecticut code is a kind of declaration, or bill of rights. It ordains, that no man's life shall be taken away; no man's honor or good name be stained, no man's person shall be arrested, restrained, banished, dismembered, nor any wise punished; That no man shall be deprived of his wife or children; no man's goods or estate shall be taken away from him, nor any wise endamaged, under colour of law, or countenance of authority, unless it should be by the virtue of some express law of the colony warranting the same, established by the general court, and sufficiently published; or in case of the defect

of such law, in any particular case, by some clear and plain rule of the word of God, in which the whole court shall concur. It was also ordained that all persons in the colony, whether inhabitants or not, should enjoy the same law and justice without partialty or delay. These general precepts bore the same aspect and breathed the same spirit of liberty and safety, with respect to the subjects universally which is exhibited in the constitution."

The government of Connecticut formed in 1639 was steady and uniform in its working. In a period of twenty years Haynes was governor eight times and Edward Hopkins seven times. And with one or two execeptions when Hopkins was the governor, Haynes was Deputy Governor.

Realizing the importance of protection against the Indians as well as against the Dutch, Haynes had always been active in urging confederation between Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Haven, and as early as 1639 he and Rev. Thomas Hooker came to Boston for the purpose of discussion, but it was not until nearly four years later that the matter was concluded. At a general court which met in Boston, May 10th, 1643, the confederation compact was signed by commissioners from these colonies. (*American Nation, a History*, A. B. Hart, Vol. 4, pp. 297, 298.) Governor Haynes was an active agent in the negotiations (*Conn. Col. Rec.* I, p. 182) and was for several years one of the eight commissioners constituting its management in carrying out its object of mutual protection in war and peace matters from without. (Trumbull I, pp. 126, 129.)

Trumbull says in referring to this union:

"This was a union of the highest consequence to the New-England colonies. It made them formidable to the Dutch and Indians, and respectable among their French neighbours. It was happily adapted to maintain a general harmony among themselves, and to secure the peace and rights of the country. It was one of the principal means of the preservation of the colonies, during the

civil wars and unsettled state of affairs in England. It was the grand source of mutual defence in Philip's war, and of the most eminent service in civilizing the Indians, and propagating the gospel among them. The union subsisted more than forty years, until the abrogation of the charters of the New-England colonies, by king James the second."

On one occasion Governor Haynes while travelling from Connecticut to Boston was overtaken by a tempest and nearly perished (*Mem. of Am. Gov.*, J. B. Moore, Vol. I, p. 309). At another time he narrowly escaped assassination at the hands of Sequessen a petty Sachem who had hired one of the Waronoke Indians to kill him with Governor Hopkins. (Moore, p. 307.)

Haynes' salary as governor was modest. On November 9th, 1641, it was ordered "that one hundred and sixty bushels of Corne shall be sent in by the County to the Governor, to be levied upon the towns by the proportion of the last vote." In 1645 the salary was thirty pounds in "wheat, pease and corne." (*Conn. Col. Rec.* I.)

The Connecticut government had extended its jurisdiction from time to time. Fairfield and Stratford came under its dominion in 1639, Southampton on Long Island, Farmington and Saybrook in 1644. In 1649 East Hampton on Long Island was annexed; then came Norwalk, in 1650; and Middleton and New London by 1653. (*American Nation, a History*, A. B. Hart, Vol. IV, pp. 259-260.)

Governor Haynes' time from the beginning of the colony must have been nearly all taken up with its administrative affairs. The history of this period shows almost continuous turmoil existing owing to the frequent Indian uprisings, boundary disputes with neighboring colonies, and trouble with the Dutch. But Haynes was true to the colony to the last. The last session of the General Court attended by him was on November 30th, 1653. (*Conn. Col. Rec.* Vol. II, p. 44.) He died March, 1653-4.

We find the following spread upon the minutes of the General Court:

"The 6th of March 1653-4.

"In respect of a sad breach God hath made amongst us, in regard of the sudden death of Or late Governor & the Like mortallity of or neibers in the Bay, & some eminent removalts of others, & spreading opinions in the Collonies, the condityon of or native countrey, the alienations of the Colonies in regard of the Combinations, It is therefore ordered that ther may be a day of humiliation throughout this Jurisdiction, on the 15th day of this month." (*Conn. Col. Rec. I*, p. 251.)

Trumbull in referring to his death said:

"The colony sustained a great loss this year, in the death of Governor Haynes. He had been a father to it from the beginning; employed his estate, counsels, and labours, for its emolument, and bore a large share in its hardships and dangers...His distinguished abilities, prudence, and piety so recommended him to the people, that, in 1635, he was chosen governor of Massachusetts. He was not considered, in any respect, inferior to Governor Winthrop...Upon his removal to Connecticut, he was chosen governor of this colony. He appeared to be a gentleman of eminent piety, strict morals, and sound judgment. He paid attention to family government, instruction, and religion. His great integrity, and wise management of all affairs, in private and public, so raised and fixed his character, in the esteem of the people, that they always, when the constitution would permit, placed him in the chief seat of government, and continued him in it until his death." (*History of Conn.*, p. 216.)

He was buried in the Old Parish Burying Ground in Hartford. He left a will dated October 27th, 1646, which was exhibited to the Court of Magistrates on July 11th, 1654, (for copy see *N. E. Gen. & Hist. Reg.* Vol. VI, pages 167-9) by the terms of which he gives his mansion house, in Hartford with the barns, stables, orchards, and gardens to his wife Mabel for her life.

The following inventory of his personal estate valued at £140 is interesting: In the hall of his mansion were 5 leather and 4 flag bottom chairs, 3 joined stools, one table one tin hanging candlestick, 7 cushions, one fire-lock musket, one match lock musket, one carbine, one rapier, one pair of andirons, one iron back, and one gilded looking glass; all valued at £8. 13s., 10d. In the parlor were velvet chairs and stools and Turkey wrought chairs, with a green cloth carpet valued at £1, 10s. (*The United States*, A. B. Hart, Vol. II, page 249.)

Governor Haynes by his second wife Mabel Harlakenden had two sons and two daughters, John, Joseph, Ruth and Mabel. John, his eldest son was born at Hartford, Conn., and graduated at Harvard College. He went to England and became Vicar of Stairaway, near Copford Hall. Joseph was ordained pastor of the first church in Hartford, married and had issue, one of which was a son named John. This John had two sons but they dying without issue the name became extinct in this country. His daughter Ruth, born February 19th, 1631, married Samuel Wyllys who became an Assistant Governor of the Connecticut Colony about 1687. Mabel married the Rev. James Russel of Charlestown, Mass.

An apparently correct pedigree of the family of Haynes of Copford Hall, compiled in 1878 from the records of the College of Arms, London, will be found in 32 *N. E. Hist. & Gen. Reg.*, p. 310.

For other references see:

16 *N. E. Hist. & Gen. Reg.* p. 167;

24 *N. E. Hist. & Gen. Reg.* pp. 127, 422;

32 *N. E. Hist. & Gen. Reg.* p. 310;

49 *N. E. Hist. & Gen. Reg.* p. 304.

Thomas Welles,

GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT, 1655, 1658.

Read by CHARLES CARTER WALBRIDGE,

April 1, 1918.

Thomas Welles, a gentleman of County Northampshire, England, emigrated to America about the year 1636, and was one of the first settlers of the colony of Connecticut. Becoming closely identified with the affairs of the colony he was twice elected its governor, serving in that capacity for the years 1655 and 1658.

Welles was the fourth governor of the colony, his predecessors in office being Edward Hopkins, John Haynes and George Wyllys. In 1639 Haynes was chosen first governor of Connecticut under the constitution adopted that year, and with the exception of the year 1642, when Wyllys was governor, Haynes and Hopkins were the respective heads of administration during alternate years until the year Welles first became governor. These annual changes in the government were mainly owing to the fact that the constitution of Connecticut did not permit its governor to serve two years in succession, although they were eligible as deputy governor during the alternate year.

The following is a reference to Governor Welles' first election taken from the records:

"At a Generall Courte of Election at Hartford this 17th May, 1655. Mr. Thomas Wells chosen Gov^rno^r Mr. John Webster, Deputy Gov^rno^r" (1 Conn. Co. 1 Rec. 273).

The original governors of the plantations comprising New England came from an unusually intellectual class of men. Whether puritan, pilgrim or separatist, they were uncompromising in their religious beliefs, which caused them to refuse to adhere to the doctrines of the established church in England from where they came

with their followers to America to seek a refuge, found new homes, and incidentally enjoy religious and political liberty. In certain instances these recusants were wealthy though quite often their activities in England had resulted in the confiscation of their property by the government; so that America furnished a new field for such in rebuilding their fortunes.

Conspicuous leadership in the religious affairs of the colony, however, was the essential qualifications for the governorship, the various governments being theocratic to the core.

Referring to conditions in Connecticut as of this period, a modern writer says:

"In the administration of the government the theocracy was all-powerful. The settlers of Connecticut were Puritans of the strictest sect, and in the preamble of their constitution they avowed their purpose to maintain and preserve the liberty and purity of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus, which we now profess, as also the discipline of the churches, which, according to the truth of the said Gospel is now practised among us." (*England in America*, L. G. Tyler; *Am. Nation*, A. B. Hart, Vol. 4, 259.)

Connecticut's early governors were men of an equal standard with the class referred to. They were required to be church members. They were exceedingly able, with no trace of the characteristics of the self-seeking politician; in short, their sole purpose was to carry on the government for the best interest of their fellow citizens and to the advancement of the colony entrusted to their care.

By 1655, which, as we have seen, was the year Thomas Welles was first elected governor of Connecticut, nearly twenty years had elapsed since the defection of a few settlers from Massachusetts to the Connecticut River had given the colony the necessary impetus. During that period these pioneers, with later arrivals, had undergone many privations and encountered many perils. Starvation, disease, Indian wars and boundary disputes with neighboring colonies, were among the many draw-

backs which had from time to time sorely taxed their energies and patience. But in spite of all, these people aided by the sound wisdom of their principal men managed to "hold fast" until the colony was able to emerge from its difficulties. So that by 1655, conditions had so considerably improved that Connecticut, originally consisting of a few scattered settlements along the Connecticut River, had largely increased its population, added many new towns to its jurisdiction, and had broadened into a successful unified self-governing community.

There is very little material extant from which can be formed a positive estimate of the character and abilities of Thomas Welles as an executive. It may be suggested that perhaps Welles was not of equal capacity with some of the other Connecticut governors of the period, but even if this be true the admission in no way detracts from Welles. Governor Welles had been closely identified with the administrative affairs of the colony from its inception, having held from time to time positions of the greatest responsibility, including that of deputy governor. He had been one of the magistrates for many years. When all this is considered it is safe to conclude that he was as well qualified as any to act as the chief executive of the colony, to the successful outcome of which, as we shall see, he in no mean measure had already contributed.

Very little is known of the early life of Thomas Welles. That he was born in County Essex, England, in 1598, seems to be generally admitted. (*History of the Welles Family*, 1878, by Albert Welles, p. 98.)

The same writer states that Thomas Welles, as well as the other many branches of the "Welles" or "Wells" family in this country, are doubtless descended from the ancient family of "De Welles," of Lincolnshire, England, (pp. 97, 131), the pedigrees of which with coat of arms are carefully set forth in his work. He informs us that the Welles family in Essex occupied a manor known as "Welles Hall" which was first called "Rayne Hall." (*History of the Welles Family*, by Albert Welles, p. 99.)

We learn from the same source (pp. 102, 111) that about 1618 Welles married, in England, one Elizabeth Hunt, of a very highly respectable family, by whom he had eight children, as follows:

Ann, born 1619;

John, born 1621;

Robert, born 1624;

Thomas, born 1627;

Samuel, born 1630;

Sarah, born 1632;

Mary, born 1634; and

Joseph, born 1637.

All these children were born in Essex, except John, who was born in Northamptonshire, and Joseph, who was born in Hartford, Conn.

Although considerable mystery had once existed as to exactly when and how Governor Welles came to New England and from whence he came (see *Savage Gen. Dict.*, Vol. 4, p. 478), later investigations made by his descendant, Mr. Welles, have led to more definite conclusions. It is now generally agreed that in 1634 Thomas Welles and his wife, Elizabeth, were living in Rothwell, Northamptonshire (see *English Cal. of Colonial State Papers*, 1635, Record Commission State Papers), where will be found the following entry:

"Thomas Welles and Elizabeth, his wife, recusants, in Rothwell, Northamptonshire." (*History of Welles Family*, by Albert Welles, p. 135.)

It further appears that during the same year Thomas Welles and his wife Elizabeth were admonished by the Court of Star Chamber to answer full articles charging them with holding Puritan Tenets. As a consequence of which their property was probably confiscated. (*Cal. State Papers, Dom. 1634-5, passim 1635*, p. 179; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, Vol. LX, p. 169.)

The articles charged in effect that they had declared that all children were within the Covenant of God, and would be saved though not baptized; also, that Christians might lawfully go from their own parish where they

had not two sermons on Sunday; also with having spoken against the ceremonies of the Church of England. (*History of Welles Family*, by Albert Welles, p. 132.)

At this juncture tradition says that Welles and his wife Elizabeth left Rothwell and soon after entered the service of William Fiennes, 1st Viscount Saye and Sele, who was a great protector of nonconformists. (*Dict. Nat. Biog.* Vol. LX; *Biog. of Gov. of Conn.*, Frederic Calvin Norton, *Conn., Mag.* Vol. 7, p. 64.)

This is not unlikely, for it was the same Lord Saye and Sele who, with Lord Brooke and Sir William Saltonstall, were grantees of the very lands occupied by the Massachusetts settlers on the Connecticut River which these noblemen had obtained by a grant executed March 19, 1631, by the Earl of Warwick as President of the Council of New England. (Trumbull, *Conn.* I, 495.)

In July, 1635, in pursuance of this grant, Saltonstall, with a party of twenty men, unsuccessfully endeavored to plant a settlement on the Connecticut, but were prevented. (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 4th Series, VI, 579.)

And in October, 1635, John Winthrop, Jr., who much later was to succeed Welles as a governor of Connecticut, came from England with a commission to be governor of "the river Connecticut in New England" for the space of one year. (Trumbull, *Conn.* I, 497.)

Winthrop in his journal, page 88, records this arrival as follows:

"In the year 1635, John Winthrop (son of Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts) arrived at Boston with a commission from Lord Saye a Sele, Lord Brooke and other noblemen interested in the Connecticut Patent, to erect a fort at the mouth of the Connecticut River. They sent men, ammunition and £2000 sterling."

Winthrop although but a governor in theory, did one important thing, which was to erect at the mouth of the river a fort called Saybrook, after Lord Saye and Sele and Lord Brooke, which had the effect of anticipating the Dutch who had planned to cut off these

settlements from the rest of New England. (Winthrop, *New England*, 1, 207; Brodhead, *New York* 1, 260; Doyle, Vol. 2, 210.)

There is no positive evidence of any activities upon the part of Welles while in the service of Lord Saye and Sele. This English nobleman came to America in 1636, and the presumption is that Welles and his family accompanied him.

Lord Saye and Sele remained in America a very short time, being discouraged with the gloomy aspect of things. (*History of Welles Family*, by Albert Welles, p. 98.)

Welles, however, settled at Saybrook. (*History of Welles Family*, by Albert Welles, p. 98; *Conn. as Colony and State*, Forest Morgan, Vol. I, p. 150.)

Trumbull (Vol. I, pp. 64-67) states that Welles was "resident of Hartford in 1636, but that he had not moved into Connecticut at the time the 1st Court was held April 26, 1636."

That Welles became one of the original settlers of the old town of Weathersfield seems unquestioned: III *Conn. Hist. Coll.*, p. 277.

Weathersfield, with Hartford and Windsor, constituted the three towns on the Connecticut River, the union of which, in May, 1637, made the starting point of the government of Connecticut.

From this time on we find Welles an active participant in the affairs of the colony. Connecticut at this time (1636) was governed by a commission issuing from the Massachusetts government in concert with John Winthrop, Jr., who, as we have seen, was acting for the patentees. (*Mass. Col. Records* I, 170.)

This, however, only lasted one year when allegiance to Massachusetts was thrown off and the government by a general court of the three towns above referred to was held at Hartford in May, 1637. (*Am. Nation, a History*, A. B. Hart, Vol. 4, pp. 249, 250.)

The early Connecticut records are about the only authentic source giving information as to the participation of Welles. His name appears continuously in

the reports of the sessions of both General and Particular Courts held from time to time at the seat of government at Hartford.

The reporter almost invariably spells his name "Wells" instead of "Welles," the latter being the correct form as is evidenced by his signature when Secretary. (A facsimile autograph appears in Mr. Justice Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. III, p. 374; see also *History of Welles Family*, by Albert Welles.)

Trumbull (*Hist. Conn.* Vol. I, p. 67) mentions Mr. Wells as among "some of the principal characters who undertook the great work of settling Connecticut," classing them as "the civil and religious fathers of the colony."

In describing conditions at this time Trumbull (I, pp. 66, 67) says:

"All the power of government, for nearly three years seem to have been in the Magistrates, of whom two were appointed in each town. These gave all orders, and directed all the affairs of the plantation. The freemen appear to have had no voice in the making of the laws, or in any part of the government, except in some instances of general and uncommon concern. In these instances committees were sent from the several towns. Juries were employed in jury cases, from the first settlement of the colony.

"This was a summer and year (1636) of great and various labors, demanding the utmost exertion and diligence. Many of the planters had to remove themselves and effects from a distant colony. At the same time it was absolutely necessary that they should turn the wilderness into gardens and fields, that they should plant, and cultivate the earth, and obtain some tolerable harvest, unless they would again experience the distress and losses of the preceding year. These were too great and fresh in the memories, not to rouse all their exertion and forethought. It was necessary to erect and fortify their houses, and to make better preparations for the feeding and covering of their cattle. It was of equal importance

to the planter, not only to make roads for their particular convenience, but from town to town; that in any emergency, they might fly immediately to each other's relief. It was with great difficulty that these purposes could be at first accomplished. The planters had not been accustomed to felling the groves, to clearing and cultivating new lands. They were strangers in the country, and knew not what kinds of grain would be most congenial with the soil, and produce the greatest profits, nor had they any experience how the ground must be cultivated, that it might yield a plentiful crop. They had few oxen, or instruments of husbandry. Everything was to be prepared, or brought from a great distance, and procured at a dear rate. Besides all the labors and difficulties, much time was taken up in constant watchings, trainings and preparations for the defence of themselves and children. The Pequots had, already, murdered a number of the English; some of the Indians in Connecticut, were their allies; and they had maintained a great influence over them all. They were a treacherous and designing people; so that there could be no safety, but in a constant preparation for any emergency!"

The first reference in the records to Thomas Welles is where he was chosen a magistrate and so acted at the first General Court summoned at Hartford on May 1st, 1637. Most important measures were passed. The settlers were on the eve of war with the fierce Pequots, and prompt and active preparation was essential, the safety of the colony being at stake. The other members of this court were Roger Ludlow, Mr. Swain, Mr. Steel, Mr. Philips and Mr. Ward. (*Conn. Col., Rec. I, p. 9.*)

The effective force of the colony at this time was about 180 men, out of which the court authorized Captain John Mason to raise 90 men. This being done Mason, with the aid of the friendly Narragansetts and Mohegans, gave battle to the Pequots, nearly annihilating them, a most important victory for the ultimate success of the colony. (Hart, 255, 257.)

Welles held the office of magistrate every successive year thereafter until his death in 1659-60, for twenty-two years. (*History of Welles Family*, by Albert Welles, p. 99.)

At a General Court held on August 15th, 1639, Welles was appointed a member of a committee to go to the mouth of the Connecticut River to consult with Mr. Fenwick relative to a general confederation of the colonies for instant offence and defence, also with reference to the Connecticut patent. As we shall see, the conference was an important one and bore fruit as the negotiations in part leading to the New England Confederation, as well as the confirmation of Connecticut's title to the territory which it first embraced.

In 1639, Connecticut adopted her constitution known as "the Fundamental Orders" considered by some authorities as the first written constitution forming a basis of government for a community which enacted it. It was subservient in no terms to the English authority, and provided for the election of a governor and assistants, who with four deputies from each town were to constitute a general court to make and repeal laws, etc., except the election of magistrates, was by the whole body of freemen." (*Conn. Col. Rec.* I, pp. 20-25, 119.)

At the first meeting held under the constitution, John Haynes, Esq., was elected governor, and Mr. Thomas Welles, treasurer. (*Conn. Col. Rec.* I, p. 27.) Welles was also chosen treasurer for the years 1641, 1648 and 1650. During this year Welles was appointed with Governor Haynes to repair to Pughquonnuck, and administer the oath of fidelity to the inhabitants, to admit those qualified to the privileges of freemen, and to appoint officers for the time both civil and military. They were also authorized to invite the freemen to send their deputies to the general courts at Hartford. (*I Col. Rec.*, p. 114.)

In exercising this duty of qualifying freemen, Welles was carrying out a very important service. As Palfrey informs us, the government in no definite way recognized any superior authority in England, and

"the freemen were the fountains of power. Suffrage was not universal.... There were numbers of inhabitants who were not freemen. After a body of freemen had once been constituted, admissions to it were accorded by the vote of those who were already comprehended in it."

And in "Connecticut the franchise was conferred on inhabitants of the respective towns by the votes or on the recommendation addressed to the General Court of such as were already freemen or residents of the towns." (*Hist. of N. E.* Vol. I, pp. 271, 272.)

In 1641, Welles was chosen Secretary of the Colony, acting as such until June 1st, 1648. (*I Conn. Col. Rec.*, p. 74.) As Secretary it was his duty to record the proceedings of the General Court and agreements of the colony. (*History of the Welles Family*, by Albert Welles, p. 100.)

The next important event involving Welles' attention was the proposed union of Connecticut with Massachusetts, Plymouth and New Haven, which after consummation was called "The New England Confederation." Welles, as we have seen, had already been active in some of the preliminary negotiations, and no doubt continued to lend his advice and assistance up to the time the compact received the signatures of the several commissioners at Boston in May, 1643. (Winthrop, *New England*, II, pp. 121-127.)

This union, which lasted more than forty years, was of the greatest consequence to the safety, not only of Connecticut, but to all the New England colonies, for it offset the encroachments of the Dutch and Indians, during a period when England, owing to its civil wars and unsettled state, could render very little assistance in case of emergency. And moreover, it developed a spirit of harmony among the respective governments which tended to preserve the colonies intact.

Connecticut had by this time already extended its jurisdiction. In 1639 Fairfield and Stratford were taken in, and, later, in 1644, Southampton, on Long Island,

and Farmington, became part of the colony. In the same year Connecticut purchased from George Fenwick, Saybrook, a town which he had established near the fort of the same name, at the mouth of the Connecticut River, to which reference has already been made. Fenwick, on his part, agreed to transfer the rest of the extensive territory granted to the patentees of whom he was one "if it ever came into his power to do so." (Trumbull, *Conn.* I, pp. 507-510.)

This acquisition of Saybrook was of very great importance to the Connecticut government, acting as it had without any legal warrant from the English Government. (*English in America*, Doyle, Vol. 2, p. 381; *Am. Nation*, A. B. Hart, Vol. 4, 259-260.)

In other words, there had always been some question as to the title of Connecticut to the lands originally settled as within its bounds, which cropped up from time to time in its dealings both with Massachusetts and the Dutch, causing much embarrassment, so that this purchase from Fenwick enabled Connecticut to carry matters along very well until it received a royal charter from Charles II.

In 1648, Welles while Secretary was appointed with Culick "to draw up in writing for record" this very important agreement with Fenwick. (*History of Welles Family*, by Albert Welles, p. 100.)

The consideration which Fenwick exacted from Connecticut for the sale of Saybrook was sixteen hundred pounds "together with the proceeds of an export duty to be imposed on corn, biscuit, beaver and cattle for the space of ten years." (Doyle, Vol. 2, p. 381.) This duty, levied by way of a toll to be paid either at Hartford, Windsor or Weathersfield, was similarly imposed on the inhabitants of Springfield, higher up the Connecticut River, but subject to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. (Trumbull, Vol. I, p. 149; *Conn. Rec.* I, pp. 119-123.) This at once caused friction, for Springfield, refusing to acknowledge the authority of Connecticut in the matter, refused to pay the impost, and the

matter came before an extraordinary meeting of the Board of Federal Commissioners, which met at Boston in 1649. (Doyle, Vol. 2, pp. 381, 382.)

These proceedings might not seem important for present purposes except for the fact that Thomas Welles was one of the Commissioners who with Governor Hopkins sustained the rights of Connecticut to exact this small duty. (*Conn. Col. Rec.*; Trumbull, 178; *History of Welles Family*, by Albert Welles, p. 100.)

At this same meeting many other weighty matters affecting the peace and welfare of the united colonies were considered, such as the quarrel between the English and Dutch over the settlement of Delaware Bay; murders committed by the Indians, and Indian plots. It is conceded that the counsels of Welles at this meeting had much influence, for the war with the Dutch was postponed; and exactions from the Indians obtained for their misdeeds, and at the same time they were compelled to seek peace. (*History of the Welles Family*, by Albert Welles, p. 101.)

From now on until Welles became governor in fact, Connecticut was increasing her lead over all the other colonies, except Massachusetts, and Welles still a magistrate, necessarily continued to take an active part in this movement.

Palfrey, in his *History of New England*, in referring to this period says:

"Connecticut increased more rapidly than any other of the confederate colonies, except Massachusetts. Near the eastern border, the settlement at the mouth of Pequot River, before long to be known by the name of New London, was acquiring importance. The buildings and works at Saybrook were restored after a fire. East Hampton, a fishing-station near the eastern end of Long Island, was annexed to the colony. On a little stream which empties into the sound, some twenty families from Hartford made a settlement, to which they gave the name of Norwalk. Middletown, on Connecticut River, was founded by a party collected from Hartford and

Wethersfield, with others from Massachusetts, and a few just arrived from England. Including Southampton and East Hampton, on Long Island, Connecticut had now twelve towns. Seven hundred and seventy-five persons were taxed in the colony, and their aggregate property was valued at seventy-nine thousand pounds."

In 1651 Welles was Magistrate and Treasurer, but finding both duties burdensome (he was then fifty-three years of age) he moved the General Court, to quote the quaint record, "to be eased of the Treasurer's place, and if granted think of somebody else to be Treasurer in his room." (*History of Welles Family*, by Albert Welles, p. 99.)

In 1652, war was declared between Holland and England, and in due course spread across the Atlantic involving the colonies so much that the federal commissioners were nearly unanimous for hostilities against the Dutch, who were accused of conspiring with the Indians against the English. But the Commissioners from Massachusetts were for peace and refused to be bound by the decision, so that Connecticut, with New Haven, decided to plan their own campaign. One of Connecticut's first acts was to take over the Dutch fort at Hartford. This was in April, 1654. (*Am. Nation*, A. B. Hart, Vol. 4, 316; *Plymouth Col. Records*, X, p. 102; *Mass. Col. Rec.* III, p. 311; *New Haven Col. Rec.* II, p. 36; *Conn. Col.*, Rec. I, p. 254.)

But the intended attack on the Dutch never took place, for, although in June, 1654, a fleet of three or four ships sent over by Oliver Cromwell, lord protector, arrived in Boston Harbor to assist, before the plans were consummated information came that England and Holland had signed a treaty of peace on April 5, 1654. (Trumbull I, pp. 217, 220.)

On February 16th, 1654, Governor John Haynes died, and there being neither Governor nor Deputy Governor to act in the absence of Mr. Hopkins, who was in England, the freemen convened at Hartford and elected Thomas Welles Moderator of the General Court until a governor should be chosen." (Trumbull I, p. 217.)

The following May, Hopkins was elected Governor, although still in England, and Thomas Welles was chosen deputy governor. (Trumbull I, p. 218.)

During the same year Welles was again appointed one of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, but he was prevented serving by reason of his important and many duties at home, (*History of Welles Family*, by Albert Welles, p. 100), owing to the absence of Hopkins.

The first part of this year, as we have seen, was filled with exciting episodes, which, however, turned out happily for the peace of the colony so far as the Dutch were concerned. Welles had been active in this connection. He twice convoked special sessions of the General Court, which effected the appointment of commissioners to meet Major Sedgwick and Captain Leverett, Cromwell's officers at Boston. (Trumbull I, p. 219; *History of Welles Family*, by Albert Welles, p. 101.)

Another matter occupying his attention was a violent dispute between Uncas, chief of the Mohegans, and the inhabitants of New London, about lands. He succeeded in quieting this. (*History of Welles Family*, by Albert Welles, p. 101.) He was also instrumental in dispatching Lieutenant Seeley and Captain Mason with men and ammunition, to assist the Long Island Indians against the assaults of another unscrupulous chief, Ninigret. (*History of Welles Family*, by Albert Welles, p. 101.)

Governor Welles' first administrative year passed along devoid of any new event of any great interest. Surrounding wars among some of the Indian tribes continued to require vigilance upon the part of the magistrates. As the cunning Ninigret was still carrying on war against the Long Islanders, it became necessary for the General Court to adopt measures for the defence of the Indians and English inhabitants at that place. (Trumbull I, p. 225.)

During this year the General Court granted the request of the Pequots to be taken in under the protection of the government. Accordingly they were given a

place of residence; special laws were enacted for their government; certain privileges in the way of hunting and other matters were allowed them, but they were prohibited to make war upon other tribes without the permission of the Commissioners. (Trumbull I, p. 225.)

Governor Welles having completed his constitutional term was, in May, 1656, succeeded by Mr. John Webster. Welles, however, still retained the respect and confidence of his fellow citizens, for he was retained in office as the deputy governor. (Trumbull I, p. 227.)

During this year, as before, the Indians caused additional anxiety. The proud and mischievous Uncas, Chief of the Mohicans, was still on the warpath in an endeavor to build up the dying fortunes of his tribe. He was involved with the Podunks at Hartford, the Norwootucks and Narragansetts; and had joined Ninigret in his attempts against Long Island. (Trumbull I, p. 229.)

Welles' deputy governorship was continued into the administration of John Winthrop, who had become governor in May, 1657. About this time the Indians perpetrated an exceedingly atrocious murder of a settler at Farmington, which caused the general court to make orders that the sachems of Pocorntock and Norwootuck, who were responsible as accomplices, should deliver up the guilty Indians.

These and other tribes were still "engaged in implacable wars with each other." (Trumbull I, p. 230.)

Thomas Welles' second year of service as governor began on March 11th, 1658, having been chosen at a general court held at Hartford at that date. At the same session his son John was chosen a magistrate. (Trumbull I, p. 233; *Conn. Records* I.)

The affairs of the colony during this year assumed a very gloomy aspect. Perhaps the condition may best be pictured by a quotation from Trumbull (I, p. 235). He says:

"This was a year of great sickness and mortality in Connecticut and in New England in general. Religious

contingencies at the same time ran high, and gave great trouble to church and commonwealth. The Indians continued their wars with implacable animosity. The commissioners employed all their wisdom and influence to make peace; but they could not reconcile these blood thirsty barbarians. The crops were light, and it was a year of fear, perplexity and sorrow."

It is interesting to note that during this year the general court established the first troop of horsemen in the colony with Richard Lord, as captain. Another event was the settlement of Stonington. (Trumbull I, p. 233.)

Governor Welles' term having expired, John Winthrop again became governor, with Welles retained as deputy governor. The date of this election was May 19, 1659. (Trumbull I, p. 235.)

There is no further reference to Welles in the records. He had served the colony well. He had been annually chosen into the magistracy for about twenty years, which devotion to duty had twice brought him, to use the words of Trumbull, "the honour of the chief seat of government."

Governor Welles died, and was buried at Weathersfield, Connecticut, on Sunday, January 14, 1660, aged 62 years. Any monument to his memory which at that time was erected is no longer visible. (*History of Welles Family*, by Albert Welles, p. 102.)

Trumbull (I, 235) in referring to the absence of any monument to mark the last resting place of Haynes, Wyllys, Wells and Webster, says:

"Considering their many and important public services this is remarkable; but their virtues have embalmed their names and will render them venerable to the latest posterity."

The following additional eulogies on Governor Welles are in proper place here: R. R. Hinman says in his *First Puritan Settlers*, p. 94:

"His whole public life being fairly examined, he was as important a prop to the new colony as any of the principal men, except Gov. Winthrop."

C. H. Hollister, in his *History of Connecticut* (Vol. I, p. 199), says in a panegyric, which also included his co-administrator, Webster:

"The names of Welles and Webster at the election of 1660 no longer appears on the roll of the magistracy. During the year one had dropped like ripe fruit seasonably gathered into the silent grave. The other had sought a home in Massachusetts, where he died in 1665. Thomas Welles and John Webster, venerable names, both governors of Connecticut, whose virtues are still perpetuated in those who inherit their blood."

His descendant, Mr. Albert Welles (*History of Welles Family*, by Albert Welles, p. 100), thus aptly sums up his career:

"For twenty-three years he perpetually enjoyed the confidence of his fellow citizens, there being ample proof shown that he was an active, prudent, serious man, deeply interested in the welfare of the Colony, and promoting it by all the measure in his power."

Governor Welles' first wife died in Hartford County, or Weathersfield, about 1640. Their many children have already been mentioned. He was married a second time to Elizabeth Foote, widow of Nathaniel Foote, of Weathersfield, and daughter of John Deming of England. There were no children by this marriage. Later in life, Governor Welles adopted a grandson, Robert, who was a son by his son John who died at Stratford, Conn., in 1659, aged thirty-eight, and who became distinguished as a magistrate in the colony, as has already been noted. (*History of Welles Family*, by Albert Welles, p. 102.)

Governor Welles left a will, a verbatim copy of which is set forth in Mr. Albert Welles' book. It is dated November 7, 1659, by the terms of which he leaves, *inter alia*, to his wife, "one half of the housing and orchard, and twelve pounds per annum." The residue of the estate is devised to his heir who is directed "to pay £20 apiece to Thomas, Samuel, Maria's children, Ann, Sarah, and cousin Robbin's children." Mrs.

Welles, his widow, passed away July 28, 1683, aged about eighty-eight. (*History of Welles Family*, by Albert Welles, pp. 103-4.)

Among these descendants will be found many very distinguished men who owe their origin to the redoubtable governor, the present subject. Perhaps the most distinguished was Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy under Lincoln, 1861-69. He was born at Glastonbury, Conn., July 1st, 1802, and died at Hartford, Conn., February 11, 1878. He became editor of the "Hartford Times," 1826-36, being at that time a Democratic leader in politics. Later, however, in 1855, he joined the Republican party. (*Century Dict.*, Vol. XI, 1054.)

William Bradford,

GOVERNOR OF PLYMOUTH COLONY, 1621-1633, 1635,
1637, 1644-1645.

Read by GEORGE FALES BAKER, M.D.

February 5, 1917.

Governor William Bradford is chiefly distinguished in the early colonial history of North America as one of the leaders of the Pilgrim Fathers who came over in the Mayflower in 1620 and founded Plymouth Colony, in a part of the New England territory which after the Revolution became the present State of Massachusetts, and also by reason of the circumstances of his becoming its second governor and his able service to the colony in that capacity during nearly most of the entire period of his residence in the colony, which was until his death, in 1657.

At the time Bradford set foot in America he was about thirty-two years of age. The circumstance which caused Bradford to become one of this band of pilgrims; the story of the events which led up to their arrival in New England, and the history of the colony until Bradford's death, constitutes one of the most important and interesting narratives that has been handed down to us from that formative period. It has been said with truth that

"The circumstances which led to the emigration of a group of English Independents to Leyden and their later departure for America are as much a part of the history of this country as they are a part of the religious history of England." (Colonization of New England, by B. B. James, Vol. V, *History of North America*.)

It is remarkable that it is chiefly owing to Bradford himself that we know so much of his life and the chief events surrounding the Pilgrim Fathers before and after their arrival at Plymouth, for it must be remembered that we are referring to a period of nearly three cen-

turies ago and to a colony started under most trying circumstances and primitive conditions. Indeed, Governor Bradford was most methodical in his records of current events, which he must have foreseen might prove of great value to the future historian. He left a journal which is contained in a work commonly called "Mourt's Relation" which was printed in London in 1622. This covers the period from the date of the departure of the Mayflower from England on September 6, 1620, up to March, 1621, when John Carver was chosen the first governor of the colony. He also wrote and left in manuscript a "History of Plymouth Colony," which embraced the period from about 1630 until 1648. This was lost about 1776, and was found in 1855 in the library of the Archbishop of London at Fulham, and happily, as the result of negotiations through the American Ambassador to the Court of St. James, Thomas F. Bayard, was finally returned to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in 1897. It now reposes in the Massachusetts State Library. As stated by William T. Davis, this work has a value "which is impossible to exaggerate" for without it the history of Plymouth Colony now so complete "would have been" so far as the years which it covers are concerned, "involved in mystery."

Massachusetts had been visited by adventurers prior to the landing of the Pilgrims. Bartholomew Gosnold, an English navigator, one of the founders of the settlement at Jamestown, Virginia, explored it in 1602, while John Smith landed there in his expedition to the coast of New England in 1614. But the first permanent colony began at Plymouth in 1620.

Governor William Bradford was born in a small village on the southern border of Yorkshire, called Austerfield. Cotton Mather refers to Austerfield as a place where the people were as unacquainted with the Bible as the Jews do seem to have been with part of it in the days of Josiah. (*Magnalia, Old South Leaflets*, p. 3.) Henry Martyn Dexter (*Story of the Pilgrims*,

pp. 69, 70), in referring to Austerfield as it appeared in 1891 says that:

"It was a little hamlet smaller than Scrooby and equally quiet. It contains a cottage in which according to a tradition... William Bradford... was born. Although the exact date of Bradford's birth is not known, an entry which can still be found in Austerfield in the parish register determines that he was baptized 19 March, 1589-90, by the Rev. Henry Fletcher in St. Helen's Church." (Dexter, p. 79.)

William sone of Willia' Bradfourth baptized the XIXth day of March Anno Do'mi 1590. (*The Registers of the Chapel of Austerfield in the Parish of Blyth in the County of York, 1559-1812*. Ed. by George Denison Lumb, F. S. A. Printed by Yorkshire Parish Register Society, 1910, page 4. This Register contains other entries of the Bradford and Hanson families.)

He was the son of William Bradford and Alice, daughter of John Hanson, his parents having been married January 21st, 1584. His father was the eldest son of William Bradford, of Austerfield, who died January 10, 1595. He had two brothers, Robert and Thomas. His father died July 15, 1591, and it is thought that his mother must have passed away soon after. His two grandfathers were the only persons of property in the township and as an incident thereto held the rank of yeomen, which term was then applied to small freeholders and farmers in general.*

Fessenden states:

"The yeomanry of England in the reign of Elizabeth formed the class next to the acknowledged gentry, the men who used coat-armour of right. They were people who lived, for the most part, on lands of their own."

It is recorded that William Bradford, the grandfather, was subsidized in 20 shillings land value in 1575. (See James Shepherd's *Memoirs*, p. 14.)

* See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, Vol. VI, p. 161; Mather's *Magnalia*; Introduction to Bradford's *History of Plymouth*, by W. T. Davis; Scribner's *History U. S.*, p. 5; *Ancestral Records and Portraits*, Vol. II, p. 705; Fessenden's *Genealogy Bradford Fam.*, p. 6.

As to the origin of the name of Bradford and the right of the Austerfield Bradfords to bear arms, an interesting reference is found in William T. Davis' introduction to Bradford's *History of Plymouth*. He says:

"His (Bradford's) family deriving his name from the Saxon Bradenford or Bradford, belonged to the yeoman class, and lived in Austerfield, a small town one mile or more from Scrooby, ten miles from Babworth, and containing a farming population of about three hundred. Coats of arms have been held by Bradford families in Yorkshire and other counties, but there is no evidence that either of these families included the Austerfield Bradfords."

It has been thought highly probable that Governor Bradford was a descendant of John Bradford, one of the first martyrs who perished at the stake in Bloody Queen Mary's time, 1555. Some reasons have been advanced for this conclusion. Fessenden says on this point (*Genealogy of the Bradford Family*, p. 4):

"The early, energetic and persevering opposition to sacerdotal intolerance exhibited by Governor Bradford of Plymouth would seem to indicate him a worthy descendant of the martyr's immediate family, and that he was so is rendered more probable from the fact that the town of Bradford in Yorkshire, Manchester, the birth-place of the martyr, and Austerfield, are all in the north of England and near each other."

Fessenden also mentions another significant circumstance. It appears that a contemporary wrote at Governor Bradford's decease the following:

"Now blessed, holy Bradford, a successor
Of blessed, Holy Bradford, the Confessor,
Is gone to place of rest."

This is quoted from Morton's *Memorial*, 261 (Davis' edition).

Concerning Governor Bradford's early education it seems that he had "no other learning than such as generally falls to the share of the children of husbandmen," to quote Jeremy Belknap (Vol. II, p. 247),

probably his best early American biographer. Belknap also states that Bradford was educated in the practice of agriculture, first by his grandparents and subsequently by his uncles. Dexter in his *Story of the Pilgrims*, p. 81, says:

"He had the tastes of a student and became somewhat accomplished as a linguist, philosopher and theologian. Was of grave and modest demeanor, but of unusual versatility, good judgment and executive capacity, and, especially in view of the conditions of his early life, of exceptional culture."

When Governor Bradford was about twelve he had a long illness, and recovering became very much impressed with the scriptures. At this time he often walked to Babworth to listen to the Rev. Richard Clifton, the Separatist preacher, who became rector there as early as 1586. This great interest in religious matters finally resulted in his asking himself the question "whether it was not his duty to withdraw from the communion of the Parish Assemblies, and engage with some society of the Faithful that should keep close unto the written Word of God as the rule of their worship." Against the remonstrances of his relatives and neighbors he made answer as follows:

"Were I like to endanger my life or consume my estate by my ungodly courses, your counsels to me were very reasonable. But you know that I have been diligent and provident in my calling, and not only desirous to augment what I have, but also to enjoy it in your company, to part from which will be as great a cross as can befall me. Nevertheless, to keep a good conscience and walk in such a way as God has prescribed in his Word, is a thing which I must prefer before you all and above life itself. Wherefore, since it is for a good Cause that I am likely to suffer the disasters which you lay before me, you have no cause to be either angry with me or sorry for me. Yet I am not only willing to part with everything that is dear to me in this world for this Cause, but I am also thankful that God hath given

me a heart so to do, and will accept me so to suffer for him!"

(From Introduction to Bradford's *History of Plymouth*, by William T. Davis.)

Belknap refers to this important step in his career as follows:

"Being stigmatized as a Separatist he was obliged to bear the frowns of his relatives and the scoff of his neighbors, but nothing could divert or intimidate him from attending on the ministry of Mr. Richard Clifton and connecting himself with the church over which he and Mr. Robinson presided."

At this point a brief reference to the Separatists might be appropriate, and, indeed, any biography of Governor William Bradford would be incomplete without some reference to that religious body.

The Separatists were congregations made up of former members of the English Church who had abandoned the church by reason of their objection to prelatical power. Being driven from the confines of ecclesiastical London they formed a more congenial soil farther north in the town of Gainsborough in Lincolnshire, and the villages of Austerfield and Bawtry in Yorkshire and Scrooby and Babworth in Nottinghamshire. (See Davis' Introduction to Bradford's *History of Plymouth*.)

As Dexter points out (p. 33):

"Strictly speaking there was a distinction between Puritanism and mere Separatism or Non-conformity. Not all Puritans were Separatists, because some Puritans wished to remain in the State Church and reform it. Nor were all Separatists Puritans...Nevertheless the Separatists often are spoken of synonymously with the Puritans."

This distinction was well expressed by the Honorable William D. Guthrie in his address on the "Mayflower Compact" (*Magna Carta, &c.*, p. 32), who after pointing out that "the fundamental principle of the separation of Church and State was first made a living reality by the Pilgrims" said:

"The Pilgrims...advocated religious liberty and the complete separation of Church and State. The Puritans, however, when they secured power in England and later in New England were intolerant in religion and opposed both to religious liberty and to the separation of Church and State."

These Separatists, or Brownists, as they were sometimes called, first met at William Brewster's house at Scrooby, which was presided over by Clifton.

As persecution was threatening them the Scrooby Church resolved to remove to Holland. At this time Bradford, then about seventeen years of age, was ready to join them. This removal promised to be somewhat of a dangerous undertaking, for the existing law prohibited any one to go out of the Kingdom without a royal license. Arrangements, however, were finally perfected with a Dutch captain to sail from Boston with Amsterdam as the destination. But through the treachery of the captain who betrayed them, some, including Bradford, were sent to prison, while the rest went to their homes. Bradford, however, on account of his youth was soon released.

But this first failure did not deter the party from their object, for, in the spring of 1608, another Dutch vessel was secured to sail from the river Humber near Grimsby. This expedition also nearly proved a failure, for just when the ship was about to sail armed emissaries appeared on the shore before all of the party had embarked. But Bradford was already on board, and the ship sailed, and, after nearly being wrecked reached Holland in safety. There they were joined the same year by those who had been left behind, including Clifton and Robinson, who had been in the meantime released from arrest by reason of the changed attitudes of the authorities who believed that they were better out of the Kingdom than in.

Belknap informs us that Bradford came to Zealand where upon the complaint of a malicious passenger in the same vessel he was accused of being a fugitive and

taken before the Dutch magistrates, but who, when they understood the cause of his emigration, allowed him to join the other members of the party in Amsterdam. Here Bradford being under age apprenticed himself to a French Protestant who taught him the art of silk dyeing.

When coming of age, Bradford sold his paternal estate in England and entered upon a commercial life, in which we are informed he was unsuccessful.

In 1609 the members of the party, including Bradford, removed to Leyden. It was while living in Leyden that Bradford married his first wife, Dorothy May of "Wizbuts" (Wisbech or Wisbeach, a municipal borough on the river Wen in Cambridgeshire). The records of the *Stadhuis*, or City Hall, in Leyden show that this marriage took place on November 30, 1613. (See Davis' Introduction, p. 8.)

Very little else is known of Bradford's life while living in Leyden, but no doubt, as we are informed, he was busily occupied in carefully laying the foundation for all that made him successful in building up the colony of which he was soon to be the governor.

The church at Leyden having decided to remove to America, Bradford became very zealous in the undertaking. (Belknap, p. 218.)

Morton Dexter, in his *Story of the Pilgrims*, p. 157, in referring to this period says:

"They finally decided to go somewhere in Virginia, but to establish an independent colony of their own in order to avoid as much as possible the interference of the English ecclesiastical powers. So they sent Robert Cushman and John Carver over to London in the Autumn of 1617 to obtain the royal permission and to make arrangements with the Virginia Company which owned Virginia under the King."

But, as Dexter further informs us, King James refused all sanction of the undertaking, and although the attitude of the Virginia Company was favorable at first and offered to grant a liberal charter, it afterwards

opposed them for ecclesiastical reasons. Finally it appears that after many hindrances, through the aid of Sir Edwin Sandys, Treasurer, and afterwards Governor of Virginia, a patent was granted them for a tract of land in that colony. But this patent being worthless without capital, and as the Pilgrims were not possessed of enough money to fit out the expedition, aid in some way had to be provided. As a result of further negotiations with certain London merchants a company called the Merchant Adventurers was organized to finance the project. (Bancroft, Vol. I, pp. 303, 305, 306.)

After selling all their property in Leyden they purchased a small vessel, the *Speedwell*, for the voyage, in which, on July 22, 1620, they set sail from Delfshaven, fourteen miles distant, and after a short and pleasant voyage they arrived at Southampton where they found the *Mayflower*, which had been hired for the voyage, awaiting them. They were transferred to the *Mayflower* at Plymouth, from which port they sailed for America on September 16, 1620, with one hundred and two men, women and children on board; William Bradford, Miles Standish and John Carver being the leaders of the company. (*Ancestral Records and Portraits*, Vol. II, p. 705, 1910.)

The *Mayflower* had a rather tempestuous voyage, and owing to the stress of bad weather the Pilgrims were prevented from landing within the territory of the Virginia Company but sought harbor further north in Cape Cod Bay, near Plymouth, already so named in Smith's map of 1616, at which place the *Mayflower* arrived on November 11, 1620. Elliot in his *History of New England* (Vol. I, pp. 58, 59), gives a vivid description of this voyage. He says:

"The voyage of the pioneer ship was long, tempestuous and monotonous, as what sea voyage is not? Yet, with a firm purpose she opened a way through the buffeting ocean towards the setting sun. Already its rays came to them a little shorn; the autumn solstice was at hand, and winter not far away. In religious exercises, in hope-

ful conversation, the exiles passed the weary days. These were varied by storms and once by a great danger. In the straining of the ship, a strong timber threatened to break. Then among the lumber which they had brought, a large iron screw was found and the ship was saved. Their faces were turned westward, but who can wonder that a lingering look was cast behind, and that pleasant memories for a moment dimmed their recent sufferings and present hopes? Men, women and children suffered the sickness of the sea, that sickness which is inexorable, which weakens the knees, burdens the heart and paralyzes the brain. The sailors laughed and scoffed; but to them it seemed that death was nigh. Yet it was not; one only of the whole number, William Batten, died during the voyage; and one was born to take his place, a son of Stephen Hopkins, named Oceanus, the son of the sea. Daily Pilgrims turned their eyes westward hoping for a sight of the new land. They had shaped their course for the Hudson river, of which the Dutch navigators had made favorable reports. As the voyage lengthened, their longings for the land increased. They had been tossed on the sea now sixty-five days when the long, low, coast line of the New World gladdened their eyes. On the 11th of November they dropped anchor within Cape Cod... They were weary, many were sick, and the scurvy had attacked some. They might well rejoice that they had reached these shores."

Before landing at Plymouth the Pilgrims drew up and signed the famous Mayflower compact of government under which they formed themselves into a body politic. This historic document is worth quoting in full. It follows:

"In the name of God, Amen; we whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign King James, having undertaken for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our King and country a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and of

one another covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, constitutions and offices, from time to time as shall be thought most convenient for the general good of the colony; unto which we promise all due submission and obedience." (Bradford, etc.)

This compact was signed by the whole body of men, forty-one in number. Bancroft refers to it as "the birth of popular constitutional liberty." He further says:

"In the cabin of the Mayflower humanity recovered her rights, and instituted government on the basis of 'equal laws' enacted by all the people for the general good."

Alexander MacKennal, D.D., in a work entitled "Homes and Haunts of the Pilgrim Fathers," says of this document:

"This is perhaps the only instance in human history of that positive original social compact which speculative philosophers have imagined as the only legitimate source of government. Here was a unanimous and personal assent by all the individuals of the community to the association, by which they became a nation."

The Honorable William D. Guthrie said in an address on "The Mayflower Compact" at a banquet of the Society of Mayflower Descendants, held recently in New York City (see *Magna Carta and other addresses*, p. 29):

"In these days of superlative comfort and affluence, it is difficult for us assembled in this palatial hall, feasting better than the Caesars feasted and served as not even princes were served three hundred years ago—difficult, if not impossible, is it to carry our minds from this gorgeous and almost oppressive luxury back through the centuries to November, 1620, to the Mayflower covered with snow and ice and buffeted by fierce winter winds of the bleak and desolate coast of Cape Cod. Equally difficult is it to picture to ourselves and in imagination to breathe the air of that first American Constitutional

Convention, in the cramped and chilling cabin of the Mayflower, when the Pilgrim Fathers were assisting, as Bancroft says, at the birth of popular constitutional liberty and were discussing the provisions of what has since been called the first written Constitution ever framed by a people for their own government from the time history began to record human politics and human successes and failures."

As pointed out by Mr. Guthrie:

"We should appreciate that civil equality or equality before the law was practically unknown in Europe when the Mayflower Compact was written... It was the Pilgrims who first sowed in our soil the seed of just and equal laws, and that seed has grown into the fixed rule of the American Constitutional system, a rule which has spread through all our political and civil rights and duties until it reaches, pervades, unites and invigorates the whole body politic."

As soon as the Mayflower arrived in Cape Cod harbor it became at once necessary to explore the land for the purpose of finding a suitable site to erect the necessary buildings for the settlement. Several expeditions left the Mayflower for this purpose, which were in most respects uneventful. On one of these they found a quantity of corn belonging to some Indians which they carried away, intending to pay for it should they discover the owners. Bradford who was one of the party had a narrow escape from injury on the way by being caught in a trap set by the Indians for deer. (Dexter, p. 192.)

A landing was finally made at Plymouth on December 11, 1620, (Old Style), which was the historic landing. (Davis, p. 9.) The Mayflower itself reached Plymouth harbor on December 16. An unfortunate occurrence took place about this time. Dorothy, the wife of Bradford, was drowned in Cape Cod Bay on December 7th, having in some manner fallen into the sea. She is referred to as being the first English female whose death is recorded in New England. (Fessenden, p. 5.)

The first law in the Pilgrim Statute-Book was that each man should build his own house. (Martyn, Elliot, Bancroft.) This was a necessary measure for it was mid-winter and immediate shelter on shore had to be provided for, and the Mayflower had to return. So the men got to work in felling timber and erecting enough houses or cabins to accommodate all of the party and provide protection against the elements. And, as Dexter states, "they set themselves as vigorously as they could in their enfeebled condition" to this task. It is recorded that at this time Bradford had a narrow escape from being blown up by gunpowder which had been stored in a house where he lay sick and which had taken fire. (Dexter, p. 204.) Gradually, in spite of the inclement weather and prevailing sickness the little settlement came into existence, when, as Elliot informs us, the whole company was disembarked in time to first celebrate public worship ashore on 21st of January, 1621.

As a protection against the Indians who were giving them considerable alarm, a military organization was perfected with Miles Standish as captain. They also mounted some cannon upon a hill near their houses. Shortly afterwards a friendly Indian named Samoset paid them a visit, and, to their surprise spoke in broken English. He afterwards proved most useful as a guide and an interpreter between them and the natives. He returned again bringing Squanto, an Indian who also spoke English, who had returned from England where he had been taken by Captain George Weymouth or Captain Thomas Hunt. The result of these visits was that a treaty of peace was executed with Massasoit, the Indian Sagamore of that region, which was most important and removed all fear from that source. (Dexter, p. 218.)

On April 2, 1621, the civil organization of the colony was completed and John Carver was re-elected governor for a year. (Dexter, p. 212.) Bradford at this time was just recovering from a very serious illness. About the middle of April Carver died and Bradford was

chosen to succeed him. But as he had not yet fully recovered, Isaac Allerton was chosen as his assistant. (Dexter, p. 212.) Fessenden says that he was "one of the most efficient persons in directing and sustaining the new settlement; or in the words of an ancient writer, he was the very prop and glory of Plymouth Colony during all the whole series of changes that passed over it."

About April 5, 1621, the prospects of the colony looking brighter, the Mayflower returned to England, having been delayed in her departure by the vicissitudes of the members of the colony as well as her own crew. (Dexter, p. 213.)

The first marriage took place on May 22 between Edward Winslow and Susannah White. As they had no minister it is supposed that the ceremony was a civil one and that it was performed by Bradford as their magistrate. (Dexter, p. 216.)

One of the first acts of Bradford was to send a mission consisting of Winslow and Hopkins with Squanto for guide, to visit Massasoit to more thoroughly confirm the treaty relations already existing between his tribe and the colony. (Bradford.)

In September Bradford sent ten men in a shallop to examine Massachusetts Bay, which resulted in their forming friendly relations with the Indians of that vicinity and doing some trading. (Dexter, p. 220.)

Another winter coming on all possible means were taken to stock the colony with what crop of corn they had supplemented, with a store of fish and game, of which there was an abundance for their own needs. But misfortune came about in the arrival of the *Fortune*, a small ship sent out by the London Company, with thirty-five additional settlers, together with Robert Cushman, the agent for the colonists. This ship instead of bringing necessary supplies arrived after a lengthy voyage without enough provisions to take her back to England again. And it became necessary to provide not only for the comfort of the new arrivals,

but to arrange to send back a cargo of beaver skins and clapboards. Cushman's purpose in coming was to induce the colonists to sign a more satisfactory contract with the Merchant Adventurers in London, which they had refused to sign before the *Mayflower* sailed from England. He was successful in this, and returned home with the *Fortune* after a short stay. It appears, too, that Cushman brought letters from Thomas Weston and his associates, who constituted the Adventurers, reproaching the Pilgrims for not having sent back a cargo in the *Mayflower*. Governor Bradford sent back by the *Fortune* a letter strongly defending the colony from these accusations. (Dexter, pp. 221-227.)

A more serious situation arose soon after the *Fortune* had sailed. A powerful tribe of Indians, the Narragansett, learning of the reduced numbers of the colony assumed a warlike attitude and Canonicus, their Sachem, sent a bundle of arrows tied about with a snake skin, which was a threatening challenge. Bradford returned the skin filled with powder and ball, which was sent back unopened.

The necessity of fortifying the village at once became apparent and, as related by Belknap, it was surrounded with a stockade and four flankets; and a guard was kept day and night. There was also at this time a severe famine, and, to make matters worse, two ships with a large company arrived from England, having been sent out by Thomas Weston, for these new settlers had to be provided for as they brought no provisions. They finally settled at a place called Wessagusset, since Weymouth, which they finally abandoned. When conditions were at their worst the colony by good fortune received a supply of provisions from a fleet of fishing vessels which arrived from England.

In August, 1622, two ships arrived with goods for trading with the Indians, whereupon Bradford undertook an excursion for this purpose taking Squanto along with him as his interpreter and guide. But this valuable companion was taken ill and died at a place called

Manamoyack. It is recorded that he requested Governor Bradford to pray for him "that he might go to the Englishmen's God."

On these expeditions Bradford always treated the natives justly, and in consequence he received their greatest respect, and he could always rely on their honesty, as several occasions confirmed.

In the spring of 1623, Massasoit sent Bradford word that he was sick. So Winslow was dispatched to his aid and a cure was effected. In gratitude of this Massasoit gave intelligence of a dangerous Indian conspiracy against the colony. Acting upon Massasoit's advice, Standish and eight others set sail for Wessagusset, where they met the Indians, attacked and killed the chief conspirators and dispersed the others. There was no further trouble from this source. When the report of this fight reached London Mr. Robinson in his next letter to Governor Bradford lamented, "O that you had converted some before you had killed any."

On August 14, 1623, Bradford married Alice Southworth, the widow of Edward Southworth. She was the daughter of Alexander Carpenter. (See *Magna Charta Barons*, by Chas. H. Browning, 1898, p. 293.) She came over to the colony in the "Anne." She died 26th March, 1670, aged about eighty years of age, having always been highly respected by the whole community.

Belknap (p. 220) says of Bradford as of this period: "His wisdom, piety, fortitude and goodness of heart were so conspicuous as to merit the sincere esteem of the people."

Plymouth Colony started with a system of communism which soon promised to wreck the colony. It was discarded as early as 1623, and a parcel of land was assigned in severalty to each family. As a result of this incentive to personal effort there was a great improvement and the harvests became plentiful.

Governor Bradford in his History of "Plymouth Plantation" gives an interesting account of this early experiment of communism. He proceeds:

"The experience that was had in this comone course and condition, tried sundrie years, and that amongst godly and sober men, may well evince the vanitie of that conceite of Platos & other ancients, applauded by some of later times;—that ye taking away of propertie, and bringing in comunitie into a comone wealth, would make them happy and flourishing; as if they were wiser then God. For this comunite (so farr as it was) was found to breed much confusion & discontent, and retard much employemet that would have been to their benefite and comforte. For ye yong-men that were most able and fitte for labour & service did repine that they should spend their time & streingth to worke for other mens wives and children, with out any recompence. The strong, or man of parts, had no more in devission of victails & cloaths, then he that was weake and not able to doe a quarter ye other could; this was thought injustice. The aged and graver men to be ranked and equalised in labours, and victails, cloaths, &c., with ye meaner & yonger sorte, thought it some indignite & disrespect unto them... Let none objecte this is men's corruption, and nothing to ye course it selfe. I answer, seeing all men have this corruption in them, God in his wisdom saw another course fiter for them."

The Pilgrims never possessed a royal charter. But in 1629 the Council of New England, of which the Earl of Warwick then was President, granted to the colony of New Plymouth a new patent made out to "William Bradford, his heirs, associates and assigns." This is dated January 23, 1630. It defined the limits of Plymouth Colony and confirmed a grant of land on the Kennebec River. Bradford later voluntarily released to the Colony all his rights under this patent.

In 1636 a declaration was published by the government asserting "lawful right in respect of vacancy, donation, and purchase of the natives," which (as Belknap, p. 236), states:

"Together with their patent from the Crown through the Council of New England formed the warrantable

ground and foundation of their government, of making laws and disposing of lands."

In 1627, the London company becoming dissatisfied with their returns from the venture refused to send the colony further supplies or allow them to trade with any other persons. But when the seven-year contract expired in 1628 some of the Pilgrims aided by their friends in London assumed the indebtedness to the Company and a reorganization took place much to the ultimate advantage of the colony.

The limits of this paper will not permit extended reference to much that transpired in the Colony during the several administrations of Governor Bradford. Volumes have been written upon this, and they will all be found to be based upon Bradford's own history of the colony. Indeed to adequately portray Bradford means to write a history of the Pilgrims themselves, a field that has already been fully covered by many able writers.

The election for governor was annual. In 1624 Bradford desired to retire but the Colony insisted upon reelecting him. This time, however, they chose five assistants for his relief instead of one, and later they were increased to seven, the Governor having a double vote. This constituted the entire machinery of the government for some time. Even a constable was not appointed until 1633. Trial by jury was, however, introduced as early as 1623. (Goodwin, *Pilgrim's Republic*, 251.)

In 1629 the remaining members of the Pilgrim's body came over from Leyden, and in the same year the Colony, at last obtained a minister of the Gospel in the person of Mr. Ralph Smith (Bradford).

In 1634 the Governor and assistants were constituted a Judicial Court, and afterward, the Supreme Judiciary. The first Assembly of Representatives was held in 1639, the deputies of which were chosen by the freemen. (Belknap, 239.) The basis of their government was constituted in the second patent empowering Bradford and his associates to make laws "not repugnant to the laws

of England." And in the enactment of laws regard was had "primarily and principally to the ancient platform of God's law," and secondary in regard to the liberties granted them by their Sovereign. (Belknap, p. 241.)

Bradford was chosen governor every year after his first election until 1657, except 1633, 1636 and 1644, when Edward Winslow was chosen, and 1634 and 1638 when Thomas Prentice held the office. Bradford always strongly recommended a rotation in office in the election of a governor, his argument being "that if it were any honour or benefit, others beside himself should partake of it; if it were a burden, others beside himself should help to bear it." (Belknap, p. 243.) But his piety, wisdom and integrity were features in his character so prominently developed, and the attachment of the people so strong they could not be persuaded to leave him out of the Government. (Belknap, pp. 242-244.)

Bradford's health failed him about the autumn of 1656, which gradually developed into an acute illness by May, 1657. He died on May 9, 1657, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. He said to his friends on his death bed:

"God has given me a pledge of my happiness in another world, and the first fruits of eternal glory."

Considered with reference to Governor Bradford's whole career his learning was considerable. Cotton Mather in speaking of this says:

"He was a person for study as well as action; and hence, notwithstanding the difficulties through which he passed in his youth, he attained unto a notable skill in languages: the Dutch tongue was become almost as vernacular to him as the English; the French tongue he could also manage; the Latin and the Greek he had mastered; but the Hebrew he most of all studied, 'Because,' he said, 'he would see with his own eyes the ancient oracles of God in their native beauty.' He was also well skilled in History, in Antiquity, and in Philosophy; and for Theology he became so versed in it, that he was an irrefragable disputant against the errors, especially those of Anabaptism, which with trouble he saw rising

in his colony; wherefore he wrote some significant things for the confutation of those errors. But the *crown* of all was his holy, prayerful, watchful and fruitful walk with God, wherein he was very exemplary."

In his office of chief magistrate he was prudent, temperate and firm. He would suffer no person to trample on the laws or disturb the peace of the Colony. During his administration there were frequent accessions of new inhabitants; some of whom were at first refractory; but his wisdom and fortitude obliged them to pay a decent respect to the laws and customs of the country. (Belknap Biog., p. 247.)

By his first wife, Dorothy May, Bradford had a son John who was born in Leyden and who came over some time later than 1620 and died childless in Norwich in 1678. By his second wife Alice (née Carpenter), widow of Edward Southworth, he had William, born 1624, who was Deputy Governor of the Colony after his father's death and died in 1704 aged eighty years. A daughter, Mercy, born before 1627, married Benjamin Vermages; and another son, Joseph, born 1630, died in 1715. (Davis, Belknap.)

It is thought that Governor Bradford was buried in the Plymouth Burial Hall, and that he died in his house near Stony Brook in what is now Kingston. (See Davis' Introduction to Bradford's *History of Plymouth*, p. 19.)

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